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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

150668

41B

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5 SEP 69 22 28Z

Origin ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

Info: INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
COTONOU
LONDON
PARIS
THE HAGUE
US MISSION GENEVA
Amconsul ISTANBUL
IBADAN
KADUNA

LONDON FOR FERGUSON

SUBJ: Nigeria - Department Statement on Daylight Flights

REF: STATE 150212

First line of text reftel should read "In September 5 press briefing..."

JOHNSON

RICHARDSON

10

Drafted by: AF/P:WCPowell 9/5/69

Tel. Ext. 20322

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

AF/P:WCPowell

Clearances:

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0297

DECLASSIFIED
Authority: VMD 959503
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05

66

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

150212

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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5 SEP 69 20 01Z

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Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

Info:

INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY

COTONOU

LONDON

PARIS

THE HAGUE

US MISSION GENEVA

Amconsul

ISTANBUL

IBADAN, KADUNA

LONDON FOR FERGUSON

SUBJECT: Nigeria - Department Statement on Daylight Flights

REF: Geneva 3180 (Notal)
Begin UNCLASSIFIED

1. In August 4 press briefing Department Spokesman volunteered the following:

QTE The ICRC this morning has announced in Geneva that its plan for daylight relief flights into the Biafran enclave has been accepted in principle by the parties to the Nigerian conflict. The USG welcomes this arrangement, which should contribute significantly to meeting the food and medical needs of the civilian victims of the conflict located within the Biafran-held areas. UNQTE

2. Brief Q and A followed:

QTE Q. What ever happened to the landing craft? Are they still waiting to go up Cross River?

A. There has been no resolution of that. We are very pleased with this news that an agreement in principle has been reached to institute

(Handwritten circle around 'A')

Drafted by:

AF/P:WCPpwell:mb 9/5/69

Tel. Ext. 20322

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck

Clearances:

S/PRS - Mr. McCloskey (subs)

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FORM DS-322 8-65

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Authority VMD 950503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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ACTION: Page 2 tel to Amembassy LAGOS

Info:

daylight flights.

Q. Do you have any details on the daylight flights?

A. There is no specific date on which they will begin. The ICRC announcement says that it has already given instructions on the spot to enable its plan to be put into practical effect without delay. The flights would originate, as we understand it, in Cotonou and Santa Isabel which were the points for the ICRC night flights. The flights will go into the Uli airport. We are not certain how many planes will be in use. During previous ICRC operations there were approximately eleven planes in operation including those furnished by the U.S. and that was four.

End UNCLASSIFIED
Begin LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Q. Will these planes land at Lagos airport for checking by the Nigerian authorities?

A. On background: Our understanding is that inspection would be conducted at the points of origin. However we understand that the FMG will have the right to require any flight chosen at random to land at Lagos for inspection. UNQTE
Decontrol upon receipt.

JOHNSON

Drafted by:

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and

RICHARDSON

classification approved by:

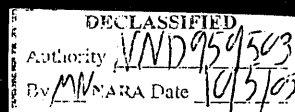
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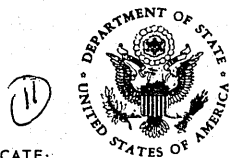
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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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CONFIDENTIAL *POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA*
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Department of State
TELEGRAM

5 SEP 69 22 56z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amcongen ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE

INFO: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY
Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy OTTAWA
Amembassy PARIS
USMission GENEVA

STATE

LIMDIS

ISTANBUL FOR SIEVERTS

SUBJECT: Nigeria ICRC Daylight Flights

REF: (A) Geneva 3187; (B) State 150212; (C) Geneva 3180

1. Believe Sieverts most useful channel to Naville. In telcon with Deptoff, Ferguson agreed and further indicated he will phone Sieverts from London.
Sieverts
2. Request/~~xxxxxx~~ pass US statement on ICRC daylight flight agreement contained ref B to Naville. Sieverts should also indicate to Naville our gratification at ICRC success at obtaining agreement. Thanks to ICRC skill and judgment in sticking to central agreement and avoiding ~~xxx~~ confrontation secondary problems raised by two sides, we hopeful that flights will soon begin. Assure him of our firm support and ask him how he feels we can be most helpful in helping ICRC achieve desired results.

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:GBSterry

CLEARANCES:

U/CF - Mr. Davidson

DRAFTING DATE

9/5/69

TEL. EXT.

29311

APPROVED BY:

AF/SN:WHBrubeck

FORM FS-413
4-68

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Classification

0300

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Authority VND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/3/05

37



POL 279 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 SANTA 00254 051423Z

47

ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01,SSO 00,CIAE 00,DODE 00,JPM 04,H 02,INR 07,L 03,NSAE 00,

NSC 10,P 03,RSC 01,PRS 01,SS 20,USIA 12,EUR 17,IO 13,UPW 01,

UCF 05,SR 01,ORM 03,AID 28,SCS 04,SCA 01,RSR 01,156 W
 089654.

O R 051318Z SEP 69

FM AMEMBASSY SANTA ISABEL

TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY LOME

SECSTATE WASHDC 0237

Santa Isabel 254
9-5-69

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SANTA ISABEL 0254

REF: LAGOS 7946 *mc*

1. 3 AIRCRAFT AND 2 COMPLETE CREWS READY IMMEDIATE FLIGHT.

2. 1 AIRCRAFT AND 3 COMPLETE CREWS IN SWEDEN ON STANDBY.
 STANDBY CAN BE FLYING FROM SANTA ISABEL WITHIN 24-48 HOURS.
 ABOVE OPINIONS EXPRESSED LOCAL ICRC REP WHO JUST RETURNED
 FROM DOUALA THIS EVENING.

GP-4,
 DURKE

(1)

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 By MNA Date 10/5/05

37



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 739

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03187 051808Z

43
ACTION SS 70INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, /071
091143

O R 051620Z SEP 69 ZFF-4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC 2834
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3187

LIMDIS

LONDON FOR FERGUSON

ISTANBUL FOR MARTIN

SUBJECT: NIGERIA - ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REF: (1) GENEVA 3129 (2) GENEVA 3180

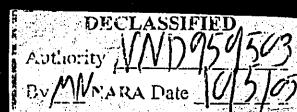
1. WE JUST TALKED TO BASSET (1530).
2. HE IS IGNORING CONTRADICTORY STATEMENT BY ENAHORA FOR TIME BEING ON ASSUMPTION TEXT INTENDED FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION.
3. BIGNAMI WILL ARRIVE GENEVA SEPT 6 (SAT) A.M. TO ASSIST ICRC ASSESS SITUATION.
4. BASSET PHONED YESTERDAY RE FMG REPLY TO DIKE/PARIS WHOSE MAIN POINT APPARENTLY WAS INSISTENCE THAT BIAFRA WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT ACCEPT PLANES WHICH HAD LANDED IN FMG TERRITORY.
5. HE SAW COOKEY YESTERDAY LATE AFTERNOON JUST BEFORE LATTER LEFT GENEVA. COOKEY WAS SURPRISINGLY UNCONCERNED RE FMG MODIFICATIONS. HE EVEN PROPOSED THAT ICRC COULD EMPLOY DEVICE OF USING DIFFERENT PROTOCOLS WITH TWO PARTIES THOUGH TECHNICAL PROVISIONS.

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Planned 3187
9-5-69

(1)

0302





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03187 051808Z

OF COURSE, SHOULD BE IDENTICAL. COOKEY, HOWEVER, SURFACED AGAIN
ISSUE OF BIAFRAN SECURITY AND BECAME RIVETED TO NEED FOR SOME
"GOVERNMENTAL/INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES."

6. BASSET CAME AWAY WITH IMPRESSION TWO-STEP APPROACH CONSISTING
OF FIRM ICRC SPONSORSHIP "STATEMENT" AMPLIFIED BY SOME EXPRES-
SIONS BY GOVERNMENTS OF SATISFACTION AND CONCERN MIGHT DO TRICK.
HE HAD FIRMLY ADMONISHED COOKEY THAT BIAFRANS COULD NOT REPEAT
NOT HOPE GET EVERYTHING THEY WANTED AND MENTIONED TO HIM LACK-
LUSTRE RESPONSE OF LUNS GROUP AT SEPT 1 MEETING (REF 1).

7. BASSET HAS NOW STARTED CALLING HAGUE GROUP GOVERNMENT
REPS TO LAY PROBLEM BEFORE THEM. HE FEELS SIGNATORIES OF GC
HAVE ALREADY ASSUMED COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY ITS PROVISIONS AND
SHOULD NOT FIND IT DIFFICULT PUT THIS IN WRITING IN CONTEXT
PRESENT ISSUE.

8. WITHOUT PROPOSING SPECIFIC WORDING, BASSET SEEMS THINK ALONG
LINES OF ICRC STATEMENT (REF 2), I.E., FIRST PARA WHERE GOVTS
WOULD EXPRESS SATISFACTION OVER ICRC AGREEMENT AND LAST PARA
WITH SOME ADDITION OR SUBSTITUTION TO EFFECT THAT GOVT OF X
WOULD LOOK WITH DISFAVOR UPON ANY OBSTACLES POSED BY EITHER
PARTY.

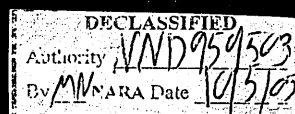
9. WILL APPRECIATE DEPT/FERGUSON COMMENTS ASAP.

10. COMMENT: AFTER TALKING TO SEVERAL ICRC CONTACTS, HAVE
IMPRESSION THAT YESTERDAY'S OPTIMISM RAPIDLY EVAPORATING. UK
MISSION TELLS US THAT NAVILLE GAVE BASSET PHONE INSTRUCTIONS
GET MATTER SETTLED PROMPTLY ONE WAY OR OTHER. ICRC/NAVILLE MAY
WELL NEED MORAL SUPPORT IN FORM SOME STATEMENT BEFORE LONG.
BASSET WILL TOUR HORIZON WITH US TOMORROW AFTER HE HAS DEBRIEFED
BIGNAMI. UNDERSTAND BASSET WILL MEET WITH FREYMOND SUNDAY A.M.
IN GENEVA AND MAYBE FLY WITH HIM TO ISTANBUL.

P.S. CANDIANS JUST PHONED. BASED OTTAWA RESPONSE TO REF 1 PARA 9
THEY TELL US GOC PREPARED EXPRESS SATISFACTION RE AGREEMENT AND
EXPRESS SUPPORT TO ICRC AS SIGNATORY OF GENEVA CONVENTION BUT
WOULD PROBABLY NOT REPEAT NOT WISH GO BEYOND THIS. GOC BELIEVES
EACH GOVT SHOULD MAKE OWN STATEMENT AS COLLECTIVE STATEMENT
MIGHT ENTAIL "GANGING UP FLAVOR".
TUBBY.

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0303



L I M D I S

TOP SECRET

I N C O M I N G

Screened *[Signature]*

POST Geneva

SERIAL 3187

(Time Received)

069 SEP 5 PM 5 21

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AF 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

ACDA 5
AID 12

Functional

Principals and "S" Area

CU 2
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IO 4
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WLG 6

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SCI 6

AGR 3
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HEW 6
INT 6

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Other

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0304

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By MW Date 10/3/05

37.



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 814

PAGE 01 PARIS 13466 051858Z

44
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, /071 W
091469

O 051825Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6810
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA
USUN NEW YORK 2605

Done 13466
9-5-69

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 13466

LYMDIS:

LONDON FOR AMBASSADOR FERGUSON

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA: FRENCH CONCERN OVER ICRC EMERGENCY
AIRLIFT NEGOTIATIONS

1. FIGARO SEPTEMBER 5 CARRIES STORY FROM SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
IN GENEVA THAT FMG AGREEMENT OBTAINED FOR THREE-WEEK EMERGENCY
AIRLIFT PLAN PROPOSED BY ICRC. IN FIGARO VERSION, PLAN WOULD
INVOLVE BOTH FMG PARTICIPATION IN INSPECTION OF CARGOES AT
POINT OF DEPARTURE (SANTA ISABEL OR COTONOU) AND ALSO FMG
RIGHT TO CALL-DOWN AIRCRAFT FOR SECOND CHECK IN FMG TERRITORY.

2. QUAI DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA AND MIDEAST LEBEL TOLD DCM THAT
GOF STRONGLY OPPOSED ANY PLAN INVOLVING SUCH DOUBLE CONTROL OF
RELIEF AIRCRAFT, WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS "ASKING TOO MUCH."
HE SAID GOF HAD NOT YET BEEN IN TOUCH WITH BIAFRANS ON THIS
SUBJECT BUT HE WAS SURE THEY WOULD NOT ACCEPT SUCH A PLAN.
TOLD THAT FIGARO REPORT WAS CONTRARY TO INFORMATION AVAILABLE
TO EMBASSY, LEBEL SAID THAT GOF REPRESENTATIVE IN GENEVA HAD
AT FIRST BEEN INCLINED TO DOUBT VALIDITY OF REPORT BUT HAD BEEN
ASSURED BY ICRC SOURCE THAT IT WAS TRUE. ACCORDING TO LEBEL,
GOF REP WAS TOLD THAT ICRC WAS LIKELY ACCEPT LAGOS POSITION
UNLESS GOF TOOK PROMPT ACTION.

3. COMMENT: DCM PASSED TO LEBEL TEXT OF ICRC PRESS RELEASE

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By MNARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 PARIS 13466 051858Z

GREETING WITH SATISFACTION AGREEMENT OF BOTH PARTIES TO
EMERGENCY AIRLIFT, WHICH WILL HOPEFULLY REASSURE QUAI. REPORTS
SIMILAR TO THAT IN TODAY'S FIGARO HAVE APPEARED ELSEWHERE IN
FRENCH PRESS, AND LOOK SUSPICIOUSLY LIKE EFFORT AID BIAFRAN
CAUSE BY MAKING FMG APPEAR RESPONSIBLE FOR INTRODUCING NEW
CONDITIONS AS POTENTIAL BAR TO AGREEMENT. GP-3.
SHRIVER.

CONFIDENTIAL

0306

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 95/503
By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05

L I M D I S

TOP SECRET

I N C O M I N G

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PARIS

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13466

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09 05 PM 7 51

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Principals and "S" Area

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S/PC 2

S/CPR
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S/IL

S/PM
S/R
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J/PM +
D/WP
U/UCS

Geographic

AF 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

Functional

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Other

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 024

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03180 051048Z

18

ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00,

USIE 00, CCO 00, AID 28, SRI 01, ORM 03, SCSE 00, SCA 01, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, LI 03, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, UPW 01, RSR 01, 134 W

088343

P 051005Z SEP 69

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2828

INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY COTONOU

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS GENEVA 3180

SUBJECT NIGERIA

REFERENCE GENEVA 3173

STATE FOR U/CF, LONDON FOR AMB. FERGUSON, HOTEL EUROPA

1. FOLLOWING IS OFFICIAL ICRC PRESS RELEASE (UNNECESSARY WORDS OMITTED):

QUOTE: THE ICRC NOTES WITH SATISFACTION THAT PARTIES TO NIGERIAN CONFLICT HAVE GIVEN THEIR AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO INSTITUTION DAY FLIGHTS, WHICH WILL ENABLE RELIEF ACTION IN AID OF VICTIMS BE RESUMED.

IT HAS ALREADY GIVEN ITS INSTRUCTIONS ON THE SPOT TO ENABLE ITS PLAN TO BE PUT INTO PRACTICAL EFFECT WITHOUT DELAY.

IT EXPRESSES FIRM HOPE THAT BELLIGERENTS WILL MAINTAIN FAVORABLE ATTITUDE AS REGARDS EXECUTION. END QUOTE. TUBBY

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GENEVA-3180
9-569

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Authority VND 959503
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

75



POL 27-9 BIAFRA -
Department of State
NIGERIA **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 871

PAGE 01 THE HA 03393 051828Z

44
ACTION: UCF 05

INFO: OCT 01, UPW 01, AF 12, IO 13, EUR 17, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, 9-5-69 3393

SCS 04, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, E 15, RSR 01, 165 W
091289

R 051625Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4406
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

SECRET THE HAGUE 3393

STATE FOR U/CF

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF

REF: GENEVA 3170

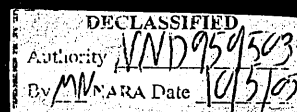
1. REFTEL WAS FIRST SEEN HERE REFORMATION OF A JC/NETHERLANDS, AND CHECK WITH MFA AFRICAN BUREAU (VAN ARKEL) PRODUCED NO KNOWLEDGE OF SUCH MOVE. AMONG PRIME MOVERS BEHIND EFFORT WOULD PROBABLY BE DR. MIDDELKOOP (SEE PARA. 3, HAGUE 3218). THIS SMACKS OF EFFORT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF SENTIMENT IN SOME PARLIAMENTARY CIRCLES FAVORING GON'S PARTICIPATING IN SCHEMES FOR INCREASING RELIEF FLOW REGARDLESS OF OPINIONS IN LAGOS AND BIAFRA.

2. PARLIAMENT HAS BEEN INFORMED, IN GENERAL TERMS AND IN CONFIDENCE, BY LUNS OF GON WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN SOME FORM OF MULTI-NATIONAL INSPECTION OF RELIEF SHIPMENTS. VAN ARKEL ADDED THAT GON IS RELUCTANT TO TAKE ON ANY INSPECTION TASKS ALONE AND CONTINUES PREFER ICRC UMBRELLA.

3. WE ALSO INFORMED THAT, SINCE BENELUX STATEMENT OF AUG. 20 (HAGUE 3194), DUTCH HAVE ASKED IVORY COAST GOVT. TO URGE BIAFRANS ON DUTCH BEHALF TO ACCEPT ICRC DAYLIGHT PROPOSALS. GP3 MIDDENDORF

SECRET
45

0309



(11)



POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 605

PAGE 01 COTONO 00912 051708Z

48

ACTION AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, UPW 01,

AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, SSO 00, 156 W

P 051600Z SEP 69

FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2389

INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY PARIS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE COTONOU 912

SUBJECT: ICRC FLIGHTS NIGERIA

1. STURZENEGGER, CHIEF ICRC OPERATION COTONOU AND SANTA ISABEL, ADVISED AMBASSADOR SEPTEMBER 5 HE MOMENTARILY EXPECTING INSTRUCTIONS FROM GENEVA TO START FLIGHTS FROM COTONOU, POSSIBLY AS EARLY AS SEPTEMBER 6. BIGNAMI HAS SUPPOSEDLY WORKED OUT AGREEMENT WITH FMG ON ALL BUT THE ASPECT NAMELY ENAHORO'S REFUSAL HAVE WORD "EMERGENCY" APPEAR IN DESCRIBING FLIGHTS IN COMMUNIQUE AND HAS GONE PARIS TO ENLIST HELP NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR. OTHERWISE ACCORDING STURZENEGGER'S INFORMATION FMG HAS AGREED PROPOSAL FOR DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS WITHOUT CONTROL BY FMG COTONOU OR CALDOWN LAGOS.

2. STURZENEGGER ACCORDINGLY PUZZLED AND MIFFED BY LOCAL NEWSPAPER REPORT SEPTEMBER 5 THAT FLIGHTS WOULD RESUME ALSO FROM SANTA ISABEL, WITH CONTROL BY MIXED COMMISSION, AND PRIOR LANDING LAGOS.

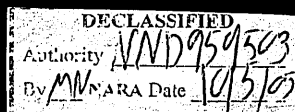
3. ICRC COTONOU NOW HAS THREE PLANES AND CREWS, WITH ONE ADDITIONAL C-97 AND CREW RETURNING COTONOU SEPTEMBER 6 AND HERCULES AND CREW EXPECTED FROM SWITZERLAND NEXT WEEK. WITH ALL FIVE AIRCRAFT TEN FLIGHTS A DAY POSSIBLE.

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Cotonou 9/2
9-5-69

0310





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 COTONO 00912 051708Z

RM NAVILLE REPORTED TO BE ASSIGNING "DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVE"
PIERROT TO COTONOU TO LIAISE WITH DAHOMEY GOVERNMENT.
LOORAM
BT

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Authority	VND 95/503
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37



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State

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TELEGRAM

PER AID

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 974

PAGE 01 PARIS 13376 051022Z

21
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01/071 W

088197

P 051010Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6776

Paris 13376
9-5-69

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE PARIS 13376

LIMDIS

FOR THE UNDER SECRETARY FROM FERGUSON

SUBJ: BIAFRA RELIEF

I WILL APPRECIATE YOUR INTERCESSION WITH AID TO OBTAIN THEIR AGREEMENT TO EXTENSION OF DETAIL OF HARVEY E. GUTMAN TO MY STAFF FOR ANOTHER TWO WEEKS, I.E. SEPTEMBER 1 THROUGH SEPTEMBER 15. GUTMAN HAS BEEN U/CF ANCHOR MAN IN GENEVA, ESPECIALLY WITH ICRC. YOU CAN APPRECIATE USEFULNESS HAVING EXPERIENCED QUALIFIED OFFICER IN GENEVA DURING CRITICAL PERIOD NEXT TWO WEEKS. I RECOGNIZE DIFFICULTY SPARING GUTMAN VIEW BALPA EXERCISE AND DO NOT WANT PREJUDICE GUTMAN'S BANGKOK ASSIGNMENT TO WHICH HE LOOKS FORWARD. BUT STAFF NEED GENEVA WILL BE URGENT NEXT TEN DAYS. AMBASSADOR TUBBY FULLY SHARES VIEWS AND CONCURS THIS REQUEST. PLEASE EXPRESS MY PERSONAL THANKS TO AID (DR. HANNAH AND USAID/THAILAND DIRECTOR HILL) FOR THEIR COOPERATION. EXEMPT. SHRIVER

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(2)

0312

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By MN/ARA Date 10/3/05

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I N C O M I N G

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EA 11
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NEA 8

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Functional

Principals and
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 864

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08034 051650Z

48
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCO 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, /071 W
090653

P 051610Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8817
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LAGOS 8034
LIMDIS

SUBJ: ADDITIONAL C-97S FOR JCA

REF: STATE 147489; STATE 149842; LAGOS 7524

1. WE SHARE DEPARTMENT'S HOPE BUT NOT SANGUINE THAT TURN OVER TWO ADDITIONAL C-97S TO JCA WILL NOT RPT NOT BECOME PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE. HOPEFULLY, HOWEVER, EMERGENCY DAYLIGHT FLIGHT OPERATIONS WILL BE UNDERWAY BEFORE SUBJECT TRANSFER BECOMES PUBLIC.

2. ONCE FMG AWARE DELIVERY THESE C-97S WE EXPECT STRONG FMG REACTION AND VIGOROUS REPRESENTATIONS, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW REACTION TO REPLACEMENT ENGINES WHICH TURNED UP IN MONROVIA. WE WILL NEED ALL ARGUMENTS WE CAN MUSTER. WE WOULD, THEREFORE, APPRECIATE INFORMATION ON THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF OUR "LONGSTANDING COMMITMENT TO JCA TO PROVIDE TWO ADDITIONAL C-97S". DO NOT THINK WE CAN REALISTICALLY EXPECT FMG TO BUY ARGUMENT THAT A FLEET OF SIX PLANES DOES NOT ADD INCREMENT OF CAPABILITY BEYOND THAT OF FOUR.

3. IN URGING FMG BE FORTHCOMING ON ICRC EMERGENCY DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSAL, WE ARGUED ONCE ICRC HAD CONCLUDED DAYLIGHT ARRANGEMENTS WITH FMG, WE WOULD EXPECT CHURCH AGENCIES TO SEEK WORK OUT SIMILAR ARRANGEMENTS WITH FMG THUS ELIMINATING THE CONFUSION WHICH EXISTS BETWEEN ARMS AND RELIEF FLIGHTS AT NIGHT. FMG MAY WELL ASK WHY, IF THIS STILL OUR VIEW, WE PROVIDING ADDITIONAL SUPPORT TO AGENCIES CONDUCTING "ILLEGAL AIRLIFT VIOLATING NIGERIAN SOVEREIGNTY". HOPE THAT IF THIS QUESTION RAISED WITH US BY FMG, WE BE AUTHORIZED STATE THAT

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08034 051650Z

ONCE LEGAL AND WORKABLE DAYLIGHT AIRLIFT ARRANGEMENTS
MADE, WE MAKING VIGOROUS EFFORT PERSUADE JCA LEGITIMATIZE ITS
EFFORTS BY SIMILAR ARRANGEMENTS WITH FMG AND THAT AS LONG AS
LEGAL, WORKABLE ARRANGEMENTS EXIST, WE NO LONGER PREPARED
SUPPORT ILLEGAL OPERATIONS. GP-3
OLSON
BT

NNN

NOTE: LIMDIS CAPTION ADDED PER MR. MARSH S/S-O.

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Principals and "S" Area

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S 1
U 1
J 1
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C 1
S/PC 2

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Geographic

AF 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

Functional

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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5 SEP 69 21 17z

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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS
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STATE

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RICHARDSO

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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TELEGRAM

SECRET 515

ACTION COPY

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08028 051559Z

46
ACTION SS:30

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, /031 W

090283

P 051445Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8811

SECRET LAGOS 8028

DEPT PASS LONDON FOR FERGUSON AND GENEVA PRIORITY

EXDIS:

NOFORN

REF: STATE 147190

SUBJECT: CROSS RIVER TALKS

1. WITH DEPARTURE GOWON PARTY TOMORROW A.M. FOR ADDIS ABABA, ALL FMG OFFICIALS OF ANY STATURE AT DODAN BARRACKS AND MIN EXTAFF WILL BE AWAY FROM LAGOS UNTIL MIDDLE OF NEXT WEEK. THIS WHEN EDDIE ENAHORO INFORMED ME HE WAS OFF TO ISTANBUL AND THAT AMB KOLO WOULD MEET HIM THERE, I USED THIS AS OPENING TO INQUIRE HOW CROSS RIVER TALKS COULD CONTINUE WITH KOLO AWAY? ENAHORO REPLIED HOLLIST WOULD STILL BE "ON SEAT" AND WAS CAPABLE OF CONTINUING TALKS. I TOLD HIM I HAD WORD FROM GENEVA THAT TALKS NOT GOING WELL BECAUSE FMG REPS SEEMED TO BE UNPREPARED, UNINSTRUCTED AND WITHOUT AUTHORITY TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY. THIS IN CONTRAST TO BIAFRANS WHO WERE WELL-BRIEFED AND WERE ATTEMPTING NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY. ENAHORO REPLIED HE HAD NOT BEEN FOLLOWING NEGOTIATIONS BUT THAT THEY WERE HAVING MUCH TROUBLE WITH S.E. STATE OVER ISSUE. IN REPLY TO MY QUESTION AS TO WHO WAS FOLLOWING MATTER HE AGREED THAT OMO BARE, REHAB COMMISSIONER, PROBABLY WAS.

2. SINCE USAID DIRECTOR ADLER WAS SEEING OMO BARE YESTERDAY P.M., I BRIEFED HIM ON REFTEL AND ASKED HIM TO DISCUSS WITH OMO BARE WHICH HE DID. UPSHOT WAS THAT OMO BARE CONFIRMED NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD PROJECT AND SAID REASON GOVT COULDN'T

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08028 051559Z

AGREE WAS FOR MILITARY SECURITY REASONS. HE SAID HE PERSONALLY
OPPOSED TO PROJECT AT LEAST UNTIL SECURITY SITUATION RESOLVED.
DATT HAS INFO FROM SEVERAL SOURCES THAT ADMIRAL WEY ALSO
FEELS VERY STRONGLY THAT AREA ABOVE CALABAR (READ ITUMI#
INSECURE WITH RESULT CROSS RIVER ROUTE IMPRACTICAL AT THIS
TIME AND THAT HE WILL OPPOSE USE THIS ROUTE.

3. THE ABOVE, PLUS INFORMATION ON SUBJECT DEPT HAS MADE AVAILABLE THROUGH OTHER CHANNELS CONFIRMING PRESENT FMG THINKING NOT ENCOURAGING FOR CROSS RIVER PROJECT FOR PRESENT AT LEAST.

4. NEVERTHELESS, SUGGEST THAT SINCE BOTH ENAHORO AND KOLO WILL BE IN ISTANBUL WHEN AMB FERGUSON ARRIVES SEPT 9, LATTER MAY WISH TO USE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS WITH TWO REPS FROM LAGOS AND GENEVA RESPECTIVELY VALUE OF CONTINUING TALKS. GP-1.
OLSON

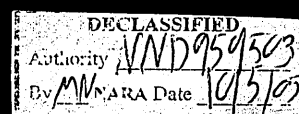
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, /071 W
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0 041115Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8788
USMISSION: GENEVA
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 7987

LIMDIS

SUBJ: ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSAL

REF: LAGOS 7980

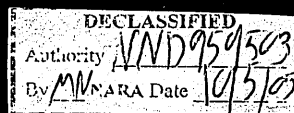
1. UK HIGH COMMISSIONER DISCUSSED FMG DECISION ON ICRC FLIGHT PROPOSAL WITH EDWARD ENAHORO (EXTAFF) LATE SEPT 3 WHO CONFIRMED THAT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING HAD BEEN VERY ROUGH AND PROPOSAL VERY UNPOPULAR. TONY ENAHORO HAD ALSO HAD DIFFICULT TIME WITH NIGERIAN EDITORS TO PERSUADE THEM NOT ATTACK AGREEMENT IF IT MATERIALIZED. FOLLOWING SUMMARIZES HICOMER'S MESSAGE:

2. ED. ENAHORO SAID ICRC PROPOSALS AND TECHNICAL NOTES HAD VIRTUALLY BEEN ACCEPTED AS PRESENTED. HE REGARDED PARA 5-4 AS REASONABLE SINCE FMG COULD NOT ALLOW ULI TO BE IMMUNE FROM NIGHT ATTACK SIMPLY BECAUSE AN ICRC AIRCRAFT WAS STILL THERE (PROVISION 1 REFTEL). THEY HAD MADE IT CLEAR TO BIGNAMI FMG WILLING LEAVE THIS PARAGRAPH OUT SINCE THEY REGARDED IT AS SELF EVIDENT.

3. INCLUSION OF NEW PARA 6-2 (PROVISION 2 REFTEL) WAS "FUNDAMENTAL POINT" AND THERE NO CHANCE OF FEDERALS DROPPING IT. THEY WANTED IT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR FMG RESERVED RIGHT TO ATTACK ULI BY GROUND OPERATIONS. HE SAID THAT IF BIAFRANS WISHED WRITE IN A SIMILAR STIPULATION REFERRING TO GROUND OPERATION (E.G. GROUND DEFENSES), HE THOUGHT FMG WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION.

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 07987 041211Z

4. ASKED ABOUT FMG REACTION TO MARKPRESS ANNOUNCED STIPULATION THAT BIAFRAN ACCEPTANCE WAS "WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THEIR OWN USE OF ULI" (BY IMPLICATION, FOR AIR OPERATIONS), ENAHORO SAID THIS WOULD HAVE TO HAVE EXCLUSIVE DAYLIGHT USE OF ULI.

5. GIVEN DIFFICULTY IN SECURING EXCO AGREEMENT, ENAHORO CONSIDERS IT "HOPELESS" TO EXPECT FMG AGREEMENT TO ANY SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE WHICH WOULD HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL NEXT WEDNESDAY'S EXCO IN ANY CASE. HE SAID FMG NOW EXPECTS NAVILLE EITHER TO AGREE TO FEDERAL TEXT AND COME AND SIGN IT TO COMMENCE DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS FORTHWITH, OR TO PUT IT TO BIAFRANS. IN LATTER CASE, FMG WOULD INSIST ON

RECEIPT BIAFRAN REPLY "IN THEIR EXACT WORDS". FMG WOULD NOT ACCEPT "A GENERAL STATEMENT E.G. QUOTE THERE WERE DIFFICULTIES IN REACHING AGREEMENT UNQUOTE FOLLOWED BY A NEW ICRC COMPROMISE PROPOSAL".

6. ED. ENAHORO LEAVING FOR ISTANBUL SEPT 5, "LEAVING NOBODY TO TALK TO HERE, BUT WILL GREATLY STRENGTHEN NIGERIAN TEAM IN ISTANBUL". HE SAID HE WOULD DISTRIBUTE TEXT AGREED BY FMG TO OTHER DELEGATES IN ISTANBUL IF BIAFRANS WOULD NOT AGREE TO NEUTRALIZATION ULI FOR DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS AND IF THIS WERE FOLLOWED BY ANY CRITICISMS OF FMG. (JUST LEARNED AMB KOLO FROM GENEVA

IS GOING ISTANBUL.)

7. HICOMER COMMENTS THAT "FMG HAS GONE AS FAR AS WE COULD REASONABLY EXPECT IT TO" AND SEES NO PROSPECT OF INFLUENCING THEM TO MOVE ANY FURTHER. HE NOTES FMG HAS NOT IMPOSED ANY LIMIT ON NUMBER OF FLIGHTS AND THAT FMG STIPULATION ABOUT GROUND OPERATIONS IS "PLAIN COMMON SENSE".

8. COMMENT. WE AGREE WITH HICOMER'S ASSESSMENT THAT FMG CONCERNS AS REFLECTED IN THE TWO MODIFICATIONS INSERTED IN TEXT ARE REASONABLE AND THAT IT HIGHLY UNLIKELY FMG COULD BE PREVAILED UPON TO AGREE TO ANY CHANGE IN THEIR EXPRESSED POSITION. GR-1
OLSON

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Principals and "S" Area

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U/UCS 3

Other 3
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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9-4-69
7997

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, UCF 05, SR 01, ORM 03, SCSE 00, SCS 04,
SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, RSR 01, CCO 00, 127 W
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O 041615Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8794
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY SANTA ISABEL
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY
AMEMBASSY ISTANBUL

UNCLAS LAGOS 7997

SUBJECT: FMG STATEMENT ON RELIEF FLIGHTS

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF FMG PRESS RELEASE ISSUED
SEPTEMBER 4, NONESSENTIAL WORDS DELETED:

A. FEDERAL COMMISSIONER FOR INFORMATION AND LABOUR,
CHIEF ENAHORO, STRESSED THAT ALL RELIEF SUPPLIES TO
REBEL-HELD AREAS MUST BE INSPECTED IN LAGOS NO MATTER
FROM WHERE FLIGHTS MIGHT ORIGINATE OR WHETHER THEY
WERE INSPECTED ELSEWHERE.

B. HE ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT ALL RELIEF FLIGHTS MUST
TAKE PLACE IN DAYLIGHT HOURS ADDING THAT FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT WOULD CONSIDER ICRC PROPOSALS ON CARRYING
OF RELIEF SUPPLIES TO REBEL-HELD AREAS IF THEY ACCORDED
WITH THESE PRINCIPLES.

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C. CHIEF ENAHORO MADE THESE REMARKS YESTERDAY IN HIS OFFICE WHILE DISCUSSING WITH DR. BIGNAMI, SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF ICRC WHO MET TO DISCUSS

FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS STAND ON RELIEF SUPPLIES TO REBEL-HELD AREAS.

D. THE MEETING, ATTENDED BY OFFICIALS OF MINISTRIES OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND LABOUR, CONSIDERED RECENT REPRESENTATIONS BY THE ICRC.

E. DR. BIGNAMI UNDERTOOK TO CONVEY FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS VIEWS TO HIS PRINCIPALS.

2. COMMENT FOLLOWS SEPTEL.
OLSON

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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CONFIDENTIAL 667

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ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01,

PRS 01, SS 20, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28, SCS 04, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01,

RSR 01, 157 W

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O 041620Z SEP 69

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
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INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY SANTA ISABEL
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN
AMEMBASSY ISTANBUL

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 7998

SUBJ: FMG STATEMENT OF RELIEF FLIGHTS

REF: LAGOS 7997

1. DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN FILLED IN ON ADVANCED STATE OF
NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN FMG AND ICRC AND FACT THAT ONLY ONE
OR TWO POINTS NEED IRONING OUT IN THE TECHNICAL
ARRANGEMENT. WE BELIEVE REFERENCED RELEASE REFLECTS
FMG EFFORT PREPARE DOMESTIC PUBLIC OPINION FOR

ACCEPTANCE ICRC PROPOSALS. AS FAR AS WE CAN DETERMINE, FMG
STILL HAS NO RPT NO INTENTION INSISTING ON INSPECTION
EVERY PLANE IN LAGOS, AND WILL BE REASONABLE IN EXERCISE
THEIR RIGHT CALL DOWN.

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 07998 041700Z

2% IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS ON SUBJECT, STRONGLY SUGGEST
CONFINING OUR COMMENTS TO OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT
NEGOTIATIONS GOING FORWARD, THAT WE NOT IN POSITION TO
DESCRIBE DETAILS, BUT THAT WE HOPEFUL FOR AGREEMENT SOON
WHICH WILL PERMIT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS TO COMMENCE. GP-3
OLSON
BT

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 07992 041350Z.

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ACTION AID 85

INFO: OCT 01, AF 07, IGA 02, UCF 05, SCI 01, IO 13, INR 07, P 02, PRS 01,
EUR 08, SR 01, ORM 01, 134 W

P 041200Z SEP: 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8789

UNCLAS LAGOS 7992

AIDAC

SUBJECT: RELIEF AND REHABILITATION: TB PROJECT

REFERENCE: STATE 144906

1. MISSION APPRECIATES NCDC CONCERN ABOUT PREVALENCE DATA EAST CENTRAL STATE AND THEIR DESIRE FOR UNEQUIVOCAL BASELINE INFORMATION. CANNOT HERE DISREGARD, HOWEVER, PRIORITY FMG HAS PLACED ON MASS VACCINATION IN PRESENT HIGH RISK SITUATION. IN VIEW THIS FACT AND MINHEALTH EXPECTATION FOR IMMEDIATE START MASS CAMPAIGN, MISSION BELIEVES SHIFT IN PROGRAM EMPHASIS WOULD NOT BE DESIRABLE. BELIEVE MORE ELABORATE ASSESSMENTS ALONG LINES OUTLINED BY NCDC CAN BE INCORPORATED INTO PROPOSED FMG PROGRAM.

2. DR. FOSTER, CHIEF USAID/NIGERIA MEASLES/SMALLPOX PROGRAM WHO IS NOW IN U.S. ON EMERGENCY TRAVEL FULLY AWARE MISSION VIEWS, WHICH SHARED HERE BY ICRC AND UNICEF, AND WILL CONSULT WITH ATLANTA DURING VISIT.
OLSON

UNCLASSIFIED
23

0328

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

46



INDICATE:
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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Department of State
TELEGRAM

149842
 POL 27-9 BIAFERA-NIGERIA
 4 SEP 69 23 37z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
 INFO: AMEMBASSY GENEVA
 STATE:
 REF: State 147489
 SUBJECT: Additional C-97s for JCA
 LIMDIS

1. Following ~~long~~ long-standing commitment to JCA to provide two additional C-97s, Department informed Bishop Swanstrom today that aircraft will be turned over to JCA on or about September 12.
2. Conditions of sale include provisions not included in previous transactions viz.: no publicity and no more than four C-97s to be stationed on Sao Tome at any one time.
3. Should story surface despite Department efforts avoid publicity, drawing on reftel as well as following Embassy should indicate that present two aircraft do not constitute increment to JCA aircraft operating out of Sao Tome but are solely backup and replacement for previous machines when latter are out for repair/maintenance. Embassy should note USG already replaced one JCA aircraft that crashed and instant case in fact little different in that it recognizes C-97s already in JCA hands are in fact out of operation substantial part of time. Present case merely intended to bring JCA airlift to level contemplated in original sale of four.
 End.

149842

RICHARDSON

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:BAStokes:gw	DRAFTING DATE 9/4/69	TEL. EXT. 23407	APPROVED BY: AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck
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CLEARANCES:

AID/AFR/CWA - Mr. North
 U/CF - Mr. Davidson

CONFIDENTIAL
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FORM DS-322
 4-68

0329

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EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS



POL 27 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

POL 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria

SECRET 130

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03160 041134Z

14
ACTION SS 30

ACTION COPY

INFO: OCT 01, SSO: 00, NSCE: 00, CCO: 00, /031 W

080570

O 041045Z SEPT 69 ZFF4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2809

S E I C R E T GENEVA 3160

EXDIS

SUBJECT NIGERIA: CROSS RIVER TALKS: FOURTH PLENARY SESSION
SEPT 30 1969

REFERENCE GENEVA 3152 AND 3157 - alt

1. SUMMARY: HOLLIST OF FMG, AT SEPTEMBER 3 SESSION, REFUSED TO BUDGET ON INSPECTION ISSUE, EVEN FOR NAVIGATIONAL SURVEY AND STOCKFISH PROPOSAL. OBI WAS EQUALLY ADAMANT FOR OTHER SIDE, INSISTING ON UNIMPEDED VOYAGE TO AVOID WHAT HE CALLED POSSIBILITY OF "TROUAN HORSE."

2. MEETING AT OLTRAMARE VILLA, DELAYED MORE THAN HOUR AWAITING HOLLIST (WHO TOLD DEWEY IN PHONE CONVERSATION KOLO HAD NOT MENTIONED MEETING TO HIM). OBI ANNOYED BY DELAY BUT REMAINED TO DISCUSS TWO PROPOSALS OFFERED BY DEWEY, I.E., (1) NAVIGATIONAL SURVEY, AND (2) TRANSPORT OF STOCKFISH FROM SANTA ISABEL. AT OBI REQUEST, TWO PROPOSALS DISCUSSED TOGETHER.

3. OBI SAID HIS SIDE'S APPROACH TO PROPOSALS GOVERNED BY UNDERSTANDING REACHED SOME TIME AGO WITH RICHARDSON. OBI LATER SAID UNDERSTANDING WAS U.S. WILL ISSUE GENERAL GUARANTEE THAT CROSS RIVER ROUTE WILL NOT BE ABUSED.

4. SUBJECT TO THIS UNDERSTANDING, OBI SAID HIS SIDE ACCEPTED NAVIGATIONAL SURVEY PROPOSAL "WITHOUT QUALIFICATION."

5. ACCEPTANCE OF STOCKFISH PROPOSAL QUALIFIED BY TWO RESERVATIONS:

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03160 041134Z

LISTED BY OBI: (1) U.S. SHOULD DETERMINE WHAT PORTION OF CARGO INTENDED FOR BIAFRA ALONE, AND (2) BIAFRA'S SHARE SHOULD BE SENT DIRECTLY TO ENCLAVE FROM SANTA ISABEL. (THIS QUALIFIED ACCEPTANCE OF PROPOSAL DIFFERED CONSIDERABLY FROM INITIAL OBI-COOKEY REACTION SEVERAL HOURS EARLIER WHEN COOKEY TOLD FERGUSON THAT US IN MAKING PROPOSAL PUT BIAFRA IN POTENTIALLY EMBARRASSING POSITION OF HAVING TO REJECT A RELIEF PROPOSAL. OBI TOLD FERGUSON PUBLIC OURCRY ON RELIEF MATTER "TENDS TO BE MUTED BY UNENDING ATTEMPTS OF US AND ICRC TO GIVE LAGOS YET ANOTHER CHANCE." ASKED FERGUSON WHEN "THIS UNENDING PROCESS WILL END?")

6. OBI TOLD DEWEY/HOLLIST STOCKFISH WAREHOUSED IN SANTA ISABEL ORIGINALLY MEANT FOR BIAFRA ALONE "BUT FOR SAKE OF OUR BROTHER ON OTHER SIDE NOW OCCUPIED BY THE ENEMY" HE WOULD NOT OBJECT TO SHARING COMMODITY. SAID BIAFRA WOULD REJECT SINGLE VOYAGE WITH STOCKFISH CARGO, DROPPING SOME OFF IN FMG TERRITORY AND THEN CONTINUING JOURNEY TO BIAFRA. REJECTED INSPECTION ONCE VESSEL ENTERED TERRITORIAL WATERS, CLAIMING THIS WOULD DELAY OR PROLONG OPERATION.

7. HOLLIST SAID FMG HAS NO OBJECTION TO SENDING STOCKFISH IN ONE VESSEL AS PROPOSED PROVIDED THERE IS INSPECTION IN FMG WATERS. HOLLIST ASSERTED "EVEN IF YOU SEND CARGO IN TWO SHIPS, THEY HAVE TO PASS THROUGH FMG TERRITORY AND SUBJECT TO INSPECTION."

8. HOLLIST SAID INSPECTION IS PRINCIPLE FMG LAID DOWN, EVEN FOR NAVIGATIONAL SURVEY, "AND WE WILL CERTAINLY INSIST ON IT." LATER, HOWEVER, WHILE STICKING TO INSPECTION THEME, RECALLED THAT IN CASE OF RECENT ICRC EMERGENCY FLIGHTS TO ENCLAVE FMG WAIVED INSPECTION. THUS, HE SAID, "I SHOULD NOT MAKE EXTENSIVE COMMENTS ON THESE PROPOSALS BEFORE I GET CLEAR INSTRUCTIONS FROM LAGOS."

9. HOLLIST TOLD DEWEY "IN A DAY OR TWO WE SHOULD BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO SPECIFY THE AUTHENTIC POSITION OF FMG."

10. OBI AGAIN INSISTED THERE WAS NO NEED FOR INSPECTION ON THE TWO PROPOSALS. SAID "WE ARE INTERESTED IN SAVING TIME. WE HAVE WASTED SIX MONTHS ON CROSS RIVER PROPOSAL. WE ARE TIRED OF IT." TOLD HOLLIST "WE ARE WILLING TO TAKE THE RISK IF YOU ARE."

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 03160 041134Z

WE HOPE THERE WILL BE NO GUNS."

11. DEWEY, TRYING TO FIND MIDDLE GROUND, SUGGESTED MODIFIED SURVEY, I.E., SMALL, THREE-MAN LAUNCH (LESS LSM) BE SENT UP CROSS RIVER TO CHART CHANNEL.

12. OBI SAID THIS WAS ACCEPTABLE AS LONG AS LAUNCH DOES NOT LAND ANYWHERE ALONG ROUTE AND THERE IS ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF VOYAGE SO TROOPS CAN BE ALERTED.

13. HOLLIST, INITIALLY CALLED THIS "NEW PROPOSAL," BUT RETREATED TO "INSPECTION" THEME, EVEN FOR LAUNCH TRIP. TOLD OBI "THE BOGEY OF POISONING CANNOT ARISE IN THIS CASE" SINCE VESSEL WILL BE EMPTY.

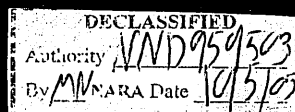
14. OBI SAID THERE MUST BE NO REPEAT NO LANDING FMG TERRITORY OR BOARDING BY FMG TO AVOID A "TROJAN HORSE" SITUATION. RECALLED PREVIOUS FMG PRACTICES OF COMMANDEERING RED CROSS PLANE AND LOADING WITH SOLDIERS AND SAID UNIMPEDED VOYAGE WOULD MINIMIZE POSSIBILITY OF RECURRENCE. ONLY HING OF FLEXIBILITY OBI'S POSITION WAS PROMISE TO REFER INSPECTION QUESTION TO OWERRI, ADMITTED HE COULD BE OVERRULED.

15. DEWEY, ADJOURNING MEETING, SAID FERGUSON WOULD BE IN TOUCH WITH BOTH SIDES ABOUT NEXT SESSION.
TUBBY

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S/S-O	<i>11</i>	Date September 4, 1969	Dpty

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 371

PAGE 01 ISTANB 01317 041503Z

51
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, /071 W

O 041307Z SEP 69 ZFF 6
FM AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1653
INFO US MISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 30

S E C R E T ISTANBUL 1317

LIMDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIA: DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS

REF: STATE 149067 request to rpt Lagos 7982 - EXDIS

BIGNAMI'S MESSAGE DELIVERED TO NAVILLE AT NOON SEPT 4. AFTER
A QUICK READING HE SAID HE WAS ENCOURAGED BUT WANTED STUDY CARE
MORE CAREFULLY. HE SAID HE WOULD SHORTLY HAVE MESSAGE FOR
FERGUSON IN GENEVA WHICH I SAID WE WOULD BE GLAD TO SEND.
HECK

(1)

SECRET
371

0334

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By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05

Istanbul 1317
9-4-69

L I M D I S

TOP SECRET

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Screeners *JB*

POST *Istanbul*

SERIAL *1317*

(Time Received)

1969 SEP 4 PM 1 58

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S/S-O *1*
S/S-Screener *3*
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Digest
Task Force

Principals and
"S" Area

ES
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C
S/PC *2*

S/CPR
S/FW
S/COV
S/IL

S/PM
S/R
U/CF *X*
U/PW
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D/WP
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AF *5*
ARA *9*
EA *11*
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Other

WH *10 P 10*
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CIA *P*
USIA *4 P*
PC

Other

ACDA *5*
AID *12*

TRSY *6*
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AGR *3*

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0335

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
149102

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08

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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE

E X D I S

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1. Lagos 7982 repeated as State 149067 to both Istanbul and Geneva.

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

149102

RICHARDSON

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:WMB:nb	DRAFTING DATE 9/4/69	TEL. EXT. 23469	APPROVED BY: AF/SN:WMB:nb
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CLEARANCES:

S/S - Mr. Brown

KWD

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4-68

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 STATE 149102

46
ORIGIN SS 30

INFO OCT 01, SSO 00, NSCE 00, /031 R

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0 041437Z SEP 69 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

081690

SECRET STATE 149102

EXDIS

1. LAGOS 7982 REPEATED AS STATE 149067 TO BOTH ISTANBUL
AND GENEVA. RICHARDSON

SECRET

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U/CF	<i>10</i>	Defense	
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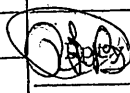
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			Dpty

PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS	
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U		ARA	
J		EA	
D		EUR	
C		NEA	
J/PM		OTHER AGENCIES	
S/P		White House	
S/CPR		Vice President	
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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03173 041802Z

45
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCO 00, USIE 00, UCF 05, UPW 01,

SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, RSR 01, 144
083074

O R 041728Z SEP 69 ZFF4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2821

AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3173

SUBJECT NIGERIA/ICRC

REFERENCE GENEVA 3129

PARIS FOR AMBASSADOR FERGUSON, HOTEL CRILLON

UNDERSTAND FROM SCHAEGLER/ICRC THAT ICRC COMING OUT TONIGHT
WITH PRESS COMMUNIQUE. DRAFT (IN FRENCH) READ TO RAPIDLY OVER

PHONE SEEMED CONSIST OF FIRST PARAGRAPH REFTEL PARA. 9 AND A
MODIFIED VERSION OF THE SECOND PARAGRAPH, INCLUDING STATEMENT
TO EFFECT THAT TECHNICAL ARRANGMENTS FOR EARLY START OPERATION

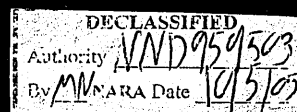
NOW BEING WORKED OUT IN LAGOS. PLEASE NOTE THAT DRAFT STATEMENT
READ BY SCHAEGLER MAY BE CHANGED PRIOR TO RELEASE.

TUBBY

CONFIDENTIAL
46

GENEVA - 3173
9-469

0340



75



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 695

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03170 041739Z

45
ACTION UCF 05

INFO: OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01,
AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,
P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, E 15, DOT 12, RSR 01, 177 W
082883

R 041657Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2818

INFO: AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

CONFIDENTIAL ALI GENEVA 3170

SUBJECT NIGERIA/BIAFRA RELIEF

STATE FOR UYCF

JCA/GENEVA TELLS US THAT DUTCH HAVE JUST FORMED THEIR OWN
JCA TO BE KNOWN AS JCN/NETHERLANDS. ORGANIZATION PLANS MOUNT
DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS FROM BASES OUTSIDE NIGERIA. INSPECTION TO BE
PERFORMED BY DUTCH GOVERNMENT. DUTCH OFFICIALS TO RIDE ON
PLANES. LATTER INTENDED AS PROTECTION AGAINST NAF ATTACK.
NO DETAILS YET RE SOURCE OF PLANES, WHETHER PLAN PRESENTED TO
BIAFRANS, ETC. ACCORDING SOURCE, JCA/NETHERLANDS EXPECTS
MOUNT MAJOR PRESSURE CAMPAIGN IN ORDER OBTAIN GON APPROVAL AND
ACTIVE SUPPORT.
TUBBY

GENEVA-3170
9-4-69

CONFIDENTIAL

23

0341

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148509

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

07

3 SEP 69 20 49z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE

LIMDIS

Disregard State 148466, report received.

ICRC Emergency Flight Proposal

RICHARDSON

①

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:GBSheff:ba	DRAFTING DATE 9/3/69	TEL. EXT. 29311	APPROVED BY: WHS AF/SN - William H. Brubeck
CLEARANCES:			

SECRET
Classification

FORM FS-413
4-68

0342

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Authority VMD 9503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

148468

39 B

3 SEP 69 20 21z

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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE

LIMDIS

Request status report on FMG decision or lack thereof on ICRC
emergency flight proposal.

148468

RICHARDSON

DRAFTED BY:
AF/SN:DBS:ba

DRAFTING DATE
9/3/69

TEL. EXT.
29311

APPROVED BY:
AF/SN - William H. Brubeck

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3 SEP 69 23 23z

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AmConsul
ACTION: ~~AmConsul~~ ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE
INFO: USMission (GENEVA IMMEDIATE
STATE
~~XXXXXXXX~~ LIMDIS
SUBJECT: ICRC Daylight Flights

1. Please contact Naville (ICRC) at opening of business with following.
no word yet received
2. If repeat if ~~xxxxxxx~~ received communication (ICRC) from Bignami/in Lagos at that time, you should inform him we are advised communication from Bignami to him is en route.
it
You should tell him in confidence/our understanding reply is favorable.
3. If Naville appears have serious problems with regard to awaiting Bignami's reply, you should urge him contact Ferguson in Geneva.

148869

RICHARDSON

(2)

DRAFTED BY:	AF/SN:WHBrubeck:nb	DRAFTING DATE	9/3/69	TEL. EXT.	21185	APPROVED BY:	AF - Mr. Newsom
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CLEARANCES:

U/CF - Mr. Davidson

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA- NIGERIA

Department of State

TELEGRAM

9-3-69
7960

SECRET 453

PAGE 01 LAGOS 07960 031422Z

53
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO: 00, SSO: 00, NSCE: 00, DODE: 00, CIAE: 00, USIE: 00, /071 W
073822

Z 031406Z SEP 69 ZFF 4
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 8768

S E C R E T LAGOS 7960

LIMDIS:

DEPT PASS GENEVA

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF

1. FMG ANNOUNCEMENT RE DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS NOW SCHEDULED 1700
RPT 1700 LOCAL TIME GP-1
OLSON

NOTE: NOT PASSED GENEVA BY OCT.

①

SECRET

31

0345

DECLASSIFIED
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By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05

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I N C O M I N G

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Lagos

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7960

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NEA 8

ACDA 5
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28,
SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, EUR 17, RSR 01, /156, W
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P 031515Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2381
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY SANTA ISABEL

C O N F I D E N T I A L COTONOU 898

REF A. STATE 148000; B. COTONOU 887; C. COTONOU 885;
D. LAGOS 7888 (NOTAL)

1. BEGIN FYI. STURZENEGGER IN CHARGE ICRC OPERATIONS COTONOU AND SANTA ISABEL TELLS US FLIGHTS DISCUSSED IN EXCHANGE MESSAGES BETWEEN HIMSELF AND BIGNAMI VIA EMBASSIES LAGOS AND COTONOU (REFS B, C, AND D) HAVE BEEN CANCELLED BY ICRC GENEVA. PROPOSAL ALLEGEDLY ORIGINATED WITH BIGNAMI AND GENEVA ONLY BECAME AWARE OF IT AFTER STURZENEGGER GOT COLD FEET AND CONTACTED GENEVA DIRECTLY. GENEVA REPORTEDLY REPLIED BY CANCELLING OPERATION AND INSTRUCTING STURZENEGGER TAKE DIRECTIONS ONLY FROM GENEVA. STURZENEGGER ADDED THAT GENEVA ALSO STRESSED THAT NIGHT FLIGHTS OUT OF QUESTION AND THERE NO INTENTION REVIVE THEM. THIS CONTRETEMPS HAS APPARENTLY NOT RESULTED IN DETERIORATION RELATIONS BETWEEN STURZENEGGER AND BIGNAMI AT LEAST AS FAR AS STURZENEGGER CONCERNED. ALTHOUGH STURZENEGGER WAS WILLING PROCEED LAGOS SEPT. 3 IN RESPONSE BIGNAMI'S REQUEST FOR MEETING, GENEVA HAS INSTRUCTED HIM STAND FAST. END FYI.

2. REF A STURZENEGGER SAYS TO HIS KNOWLEDGE SANTA ISABEL HAS BEEN DROPPED AS STAGING AREA FOR ICRC FLIGHTS FOR PRESENT SINCE ICRC CREWS THERE SWEDISH AND SWEDS PERSONAE NON GRATA IN LAGOS BECAUSE OF VON ROSEN'S ACTIVITIES

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Cotonou 898
9-3-69

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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PAGE 02 COTONO 00898 031803Z

ON BEHALF BIAFRA:

3. ALSO REF A ACCORDING STURZENEGGER ICRC COTONOU HAS TWO C97S AND TWO DC6S IN FLYING CONDITION. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, ONLY TWO CREWS AVAILABLE ALTHOUGH STANDBY CREWS CAN BE BROUGHT FROM EUROPE WITHIN 24 HOURS. ADDITIONAL C-97 WITH CREW EXPECTED RETURN FROM MAINTENANCE CHECKUP AND BE AVAILABLE ON SEPTEMBER 7.

4. STURZENEGGER ALSO TELLS US HE HAD "SATISFACTORY" MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ZINSOU SEPTEMBER 1 ALTHOUGH IT CLEAR DAHOMEY GOVERNMENT STILL INSISTENT RESUMPTION FLIGHTS FROM COTONOU HAVE PRIOR ACCORD ALL INTERESTED PARTIES INCLUDING LAGOS. LOORAM

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44
ACTION SS 30

INFO OCT 01/031 W

R 031755Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2806

SECRET GENEVA 3157

EXDIS:

SUBJ: NIGERIA; CROSS RIVER TALKS:

1. HELD FINAL SESSION THIS ROUND OF TALKS TODAY ON TWIN PROPOSALS: (1) PRELIMINARY NAVIGATIONAL SURVEY, AND (2) EMERGENCY MOVEMENT OF STOCKFISH. MEETING CHAIRED BY DEWEY WITH POPE, HOLLIST AND OBI REPRESENTING THE PARTIES. DETAILED SEPTEL TO FOLLOW THIS SUMMARY.

2. DISAGREEMENT BOTH PROPOSALS CENTERED ON INSPECTION. WHILE OBI INITIALLY APPEARED TO PUT HOLLIST ON SPOT BY ACCEPTING PROPOSALS, LATER BECAME CLEAR HE WOULD ACCEPT NO INSPECTION OR EVEN STOPPING OF VESSELS FOR CLEARANCE ON ENTERING NIGERIAN WATERS. HOLLIST SALVAGED HIS POSITION BY REITERATING FMG INSISTENCE ON INSPECTION.

3. ONLY OPENINGS LEFT APPEARED IN HOLLIST'S MENTIONING FMG PRECEDENT OF WAIVING INSPECTION FOR EMERGENCY FLIGHTS. WOULD AWAIT INSTRUCTIONS COMING IN A "DAY OR TWO" BEFORE CLOSING DOOR COMPLETELY ON INSPECTION ISSUE. OBI'S CONCESSION WAS IN AGREEING TO REFER SPECIFICS OF INSPECTION TO OWERRI, STATING HE COULD BE "OVERRULED."

4. COMMENT: THIS SESSION NARROWED THE DIFFERENCES TO INSPECTION ISSUE, CHANGED FOCUS SOMEWHAT TO APPARENT HARDENING BIAFRAN POSITION VIS-A-VIS FMG OFT-REPEATED "LEGITIMATE PEROGATIVES OF A SOVEREIGN STATE." MEETING ADJOURNED WITH PARTIES' PROMISE TO REPORT SEPARATELY ON MATTERS REFERRED TO LABOS AND OWERRI FOR CLARIFICATION.

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03152 031252Z

44
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Z 031235Z SEP 69 ZFF4

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 2802

SECRET GENEVA 3152

EXDIS

DEPT PASS LAGOS, LONDON

SUBJECT ICRC-DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REFERENCE (A) LAGOS 7580

(B) STATE 148079

1. AFTER CONFERENCE COOKEY/OBI WEDNESDAY MORNING RE CROSS RIVER PLENARY TALKS SCHEDULED WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, FERGUSON INQUIRED COOKEY WHAT PRECISE POSITION OF BIAFRA ON CURRENT ICRC PROPOSAL. REF (B) PARA 1. FERGUSON STATED "I UNDERSTAND YOU HAVE AGREE TO THREE WEEK EMERGENCY FLIGHT PROPOSAL SUBJECT ONLY TO YOUR REJECTION OF ANY PLANE WHICH HAS TOUCHED DOWN IN LAGOS."

2. BOTH COOKEY/OBI APPEARED STUNNED. INQUIRED: "WHAT'S THIS ABOUT THREE WEEK EMERGENCY PROPOSAL?" FERGUSON IN EQUAL STATE OF SHOCK ASKED: "WHAT DID YOU ACCEPT?" COOKEY/OBI REPLIED "ACCEPTED TECHNICAL NOTE AUGUST 4 FOR "PERMANENT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS" SUBJECT TO REJECTION ANY PLANE TOUCHING DOWN LAGOS UNDER 2.7. SAID "THIS FIRST TIME WE EVER HEARD OF THREE WEEK PROPOSAL."

3. AFTER REFRESHING RECOLLECTION REF (A), FERGUSON STATED HE CERTAIN FMG WILL BE ACTING ON "THREE WEEK EMERGENCY DAYLIGHT PROPOSAL" NOT REPEAT NOT ACTING ON PROPOSAL FOR PERMANENT ARRANGEMENT.

OBI ASSERTED "THIS PROPOSAL NEVER PUT TO US. WE NEVER ACCEPTED THIS. IF EMERGENCY PROPOSAL PUT TO US WE WILL HAVE TO GET

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 0315Z 031252Z

INSTRUCTION FROM OWERRI."

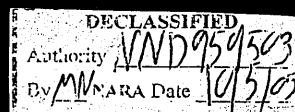
5. COMMENT: SITUATION HAS POTENTIAL FOR MAJOR DISASTER.
FREYMOND UNAVAILABLE. PERHAPS SOME MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN
ICRC AND COOKEY/OBI, OR MAYBE STUMBLER ON FACT THAT FREYMOND
WORKING FROM NEGOTIATING SCENARIO REQUIRING KEEPING BIAFRANS
IN DARK UNTIL FMG COMES AROUND. FERGUSON OF OPINION USG STAY
ON SIDELINES FOR MOMENT. APPRECIATE COMMENTS ASAP. STRONGLY
SUGGEST HOLD ON PRESS COMMENTS UNTIL SITUATION CLARIFIED.
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S/S-O	11	Date	September 3, 1969

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: September 3, 1969

SUBJECT: Nigeria

PARTICIPANTS: Mr. David Newsom, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs
Mr. C. Robert Moore, Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs
Mr. William H. Brubeck, Director, Special Staff for Nigeria
Father Kevin Doheny, Holy Ghost priest, Ireland
Father Michael Doheny, Holy Ghost priest, Ireland

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1969 SEP 15 PM 3 31

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Biafra - Nigerian

The Fathers Doheny, who have for several years been conducting a relief program in Biafra for the Holy Ghost Order, were in Washington this week seeking financial support for their relief program and discussing the political situation in Nigeria with, among others, Speaker McCormack, Chairman Morgan of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Roger Morris of NSC, and U/CF. They are returning to Dublin in two days and Father Kevin Doheny will return to Biafra in September.

Their program (Africa Concern) brings relief supplies to Libreville by ship and flies from there into Uli with one plane, chartered from Icelandic Fratfulug, to L. Johannesson, Roebuck Air Charter, Ltd., 84 Roebuck House, Palace Street, London, S.W. 1.

They would like to charter two Red Cross planes now idle at Santa Isabel and available through Johannesson to expand their operation out of Libreville to 75 tons nightly (they have food stocks available). They have discussed this with Ferguson in Geneva and others in Washington and would like USG assistance.

Mr. Newsom explained that our assistance has been limited to programs involving American organizations and that Libreville presents a particular problem, but undertook to explore the problem further with Ambassador Ferguson. He pointed out that if ICRC resumes its daylight flight program now under negotiation, these planes would presumably not be available to Africa Concern.

FORM DS-1254
3-61

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The conversation shifted to political matters and Mr. Newsom reviewed our position: that we have limited our political role on the grounds there is no useful and effective activity we see in prospect for the USG beyond present policy. He explained our judgment that a negotiated settlement in the context of one Nigeria offers the most hopeful long-term prospect.

Father Kevin Doheny said he had good relations with Ojukwu and other leaders but no real authority. However, he indicated that on the basis of his conversations with Ojukwu he believes Ojukwu prepared to compromise beyond his announced position; that he would be receptive to the right kind of approach to begin discussions, and that he so dominated his establishment as to be able to carry through a negotiation. He agreed with Mr. Newsom that publicized initiatives will not succeed and that approaches should be private.

Father Kevin Doheny said that Ojukwu had indicated to him a belief that the British could be an effective mediator if they would take a more even-handed position, and that he would be willing to talk with Malcolm MacDonald. Father Doheny has had two long talks with Maurice Foley of the British Foreign Office, at the beginning of July and again at the beginning of August. Foley had shown great interest in a confidential MacDonald mission and proposed Lord Hunt accompany him, which Doheny thinks the Biafrans would accept. The mission would be under the cover of a relief discussion. However, there has been no follow-up by Foley.

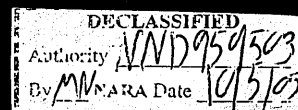
Father Doheny believes that Ojukwu's minimum negotiating position would involve an adequate autonomous police or military force to guarantee internal security and a "deal" on oil to insure Biafra a reasonable share of revenues, and access to the sea, presumably Port Harcourt. He believes the shape and degree of political association within a Nigerian framework is negotiable as is the issue of Biafran international representation. He believes a Biafran state containing the minority tribes is politically viable, pointing out that Cookey and many other Biafran leaders are non-Ibo. He also stressed Biafran desire to assure interested governments that Biafra is prepared to protect foreign economic interests (presumably a way of saying that Biafra is prepared to respect the interests of the oil companies in any prospective Biafran state).

Mr. Newsom expressed our appreciation for the opportunity to discuss these matters and undertook to consider further points raised by the Fathers Doheny.

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9/8/69

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P R 031520Z SEP 69
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TO AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2804

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1. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON, ACCOMPANIED BY JAMES M. POPE, ARRIVING
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SEPT 5 LV PARIS ORLY 1200 BE 347 AR LONDON 1300.

SEPT 6 LV LONDON 1430 PAA 107 AR DULLES 1745.

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E 15, DOT 12, TRSY 11, ACDA 16, MC 02, SR 01, ORM 03, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20,

USIA 12, RSR 01, 225 W

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R 031820Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2807
INFO AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3158

SUBJ: NIGERIA: C-97'S

1. DEWEY HAD MOST USEFUL MEETINGS WITH ISRAEL AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY
(IAI) OFFICIALS ON AUGUST 31 AND SEPTEMBER 1. FOLLOWING ARE
HIGHLIGHTS OF VISIT:

A. IAI LARGE (9,000 EMPLOYEES), COMPETENT FIRM WITH IMPRESSIVE
ENGINEERING DEPTH IN BOTH AIRCRAFT MANUFACTURING AND MAINTENANCE.

B. NO PROBLEM POSITIONING TWO ADDITIONAL "MAINTENANCE FLOAT"
C-97'S IMMEDIATELY AT IAI, TO BE ROTATED WITH AIRCRAFT ARRIVING
FOR OVERHAUL.

C. FULL ISRAELI MOBILIZATION WOULD PROBABLY CAUSE, AT WORST,
MINOR INTERRUPTION THIS SMALL PORTION IAI'S OVERALL OPERATION.
(NO INTERRUPTION E.G. FOREIGN AIRCRAFT WORK DURING 6-DAY WAR.)

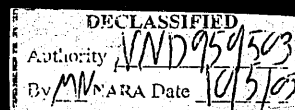
D. PRIOR TO OVERHAUL CONDITION OF FIRST JCA C-97 INDICATES
REMAINING THREE SHOULD ENTER FOR OVERHAUL AS SOON AS SCHEDULING
PERMITS. (FIRST PLANE 800 HOURS WITHOUT OVERHAUL, BAD CONDITION,
NO SYSTEMS WORKING PROPERLY. BECAUSE OF NEGLECT, NEEDED MODIFIED
5000 HOUR CHECK RATHER THAN ROUTINE 250 HOURS. COST \$20,000, VS.

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GENEVA-3158
9-3 69

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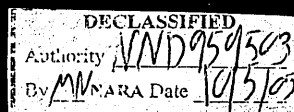
PAGE 02 GENEVA 03158 031936Z

APPROXIMATELY \$8,000 AVERAGE COST FOR ICRC C-97 OVERHAUL. AS
RESULT, IAI RELUCTANT ASSOCIATE WITH JCA OPERATION UNLESS IT
CAN PROCESS ALL AIRCRAFT PERIODICALLY, AS FOR BALAIR. DUE FERRY
DISTANCE RECOMMENDS 400 HOUR AS SAFE SUBSTITUTE FOR 250 HOUR
CHECK.)

2. COMMENT: LIKELY DEPLORABLE CONDITION REMAINDER JCA C-97 FLEET
(TOGETHER WITH JCA FAILURE TO RETURN SECOND AIRCRAFT FOR OVERHAUL
THIS TIME DUE TO "OPERATIONAL REQUIREMENTS") HIGHLIGHTS NEED USG
TO DELIVER ADDITIONAL AIRCRAFT IMMEDIATELY. THIS PERMITS SCHEDUL-
ING REMAINDER FOR OVERHAUL WHILE MAINTAINING PRESENT OR HIGHER
LEVEL AIRCRAFT AVAILABILITY AT SAO TOME. CRITICAL ISSUE OF
FLIGHT SAFETY ALSO ENTERS PICTURE IN FACE OF JCA'S DECISION TO
FLY RATHER THAN OVERHAUL. WHILE THIS MAY BE JCA PRESSURE PLOY,
FURTHER USG DELAY CLEARLY INDEFENSIBLE IN LIGHT OF THESE FINDINGS.
AT TEL AVIV.
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SECRET LAGOS 7980

EXDIS

DEPT PLEASE PASS LONDON AND GENEVA

SUBJECT: ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSAL

1. BIGNAMI JUST INFORMED HIGH COMMISSIONER AND ME THAT HE HAD BEEN INFORMED BY TONY ENAHORO THAT FMG PREPARED ACCEPT ICRC EMERGENCY DAY FLIGHT PROPOSAL. HOWEVER, FMG PROPOSED TWO CHANGES IN LANGUAGE OF TECHNICAL ARRANGEMENTS ANNEX. THESE ARE: (1) A PROVISION DESIGNED TO PROTECT FROM ATTACK BY FEDERAL FORCES ANY ICRC AIRCRAFT WHICH UNABLE LEAVE ULI BEFORE ALLOTTED TIME DUE TECHNICAL REASONS. FMG WISHED QUALIFY PROVISION BY PHRASE "PROVIDED IDENTIFICATION BE POSSIBLE AND THERE ARE NO UNAUTHORIZED AIRCRAFT AT ULI". SINCE QUALIFICATION DIFFICULT ICRC AND PROBABLY BIAFRANS TO ACCEPT, BIGNAMI PROPOSED DELETION PARAGRAPH WHICH FMG HAS ACCEPTED. (2) FMG STATEMENT THAT "AGREEMENT WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO MILITARY OPERATIONS BY THE FMG." THIS POINT, OF COURSE, DESIGNED PROTECT FMG'S RIGHT TO TAKE ULI IF AND WHEN IT CAN BY GROUND MILITARY OPERATIONS, BUT ALSO CLEARLY DESIGNED OFFSET RECENT BIAFRAN STATEMENT THAT "ACCEPTANCE IS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO OUR OWN USE OF ULI".

2. HOPEFULLY FIRST ABOVE POINTS CAN BE READILY MET BY DELETION PARAGRAPH. HIGH COMMISSIONER AT THIS MOMENT SPEAKING WITH EDDIE ENAHORO SEE WHAT MIGHT BE DONE WITH SECOND POINT. WITH EXCEPTION THESE POINTS, THERE APPEARS TO BE COMPLETE AGREEMENT AND HOPEFULLY THESE CAN BE SOON RESTKVED WITH ICRC AND BIAFRANS.

3. BIGNAMI PREPARING OWN REPORT WHICH WE HAVE AGREED

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 07980 031903Z

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 07976 032359Z

85
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INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, /031 W

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O 032214Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8782

SECRET LAGOS 7976

EXDIS

DEPT PASS GENEVA AND LONDON

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF; DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS

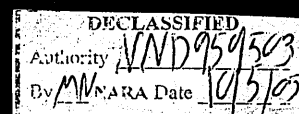
REF: GENEVA 3152 - POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

1. IN THE COURSE OF DINNER THIS EVENING WITH HICOMER AND BIGNAMI, BIGNAMI MENTIONED HE HAD DISCUSSED THE DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSALS FOR "ELEVEN HOURS" WITH COOKEY. I ASKED HIM WHETHER THIS HAD BEEN FOR A LONG-TERM ARRANGEMENT OR HAD HE MENTIONED THE EMERGENCY PERIOD OF THREE WEEKS. BIGNAMI WAS EMPHATIC THAT HE HAD TALKED OF AN EMERGENCY PERIOD OF THREE WEEKS WHICH COOKEY HAD UNDERSTOOD WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF A CONTINUING ARRANGEMENT ON THE SAME BASIS. I INFORMED BIGNAMI THAT I HAD HAD WORD TODAY THAT COOKEY HAD SAID HE HAD NEVER HEARD OF THE THREE WEEK TEMPORARY ARRANGEMENT. BIGNAMI EXPRESSED ASTONISHMENT AND IS CABLING NAVILLE ACCORDINGLY. GP-1 OLSON

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INFO: Amembassy LAGOS
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EXDIS

Ref: State 148079

Subj: Nigeria Daylight Relief Flights

- today
1. In conversation Biafran reps Geneva/Ferguson told they had no knowledge 3 week emergency proposal and that Biafran acceptance was of ICRC Aug. 4 technical note for "permanent daylight flights". Biafran reps asserted emergency proposal never put to them, never accepted by them and if it ^{were to be,} ~~was~~ new instruction would be required.
 2. This information should be passed to Naville as having been garnered by Ferguson in casual conversation and being passed on solely for his information. However, ^{do not pass} ~~take no action~~ until you receive report from Department on FMG decision on daylight flights which expected momentarily. You should give Naville above information only after informing him of FMG decision.

ROGERS

(4)
DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:GBSherry:ba
DRAFTING DATE: 9/3/69
TEL. EXT.: 29311
APPROVED BY: AF - David D. Newson
CLEARANCES:
U/CF-Mr. Dawson
~~XNEA/NEA/TUE~~ Mr. Cash
S/S-Mr. Brown

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 07982 01 OF 02 040336Z

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O 032237Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8785

SECRET SECTION 1 OF 2 LAGOS 7982/1

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y

DEPT PASS INSTABUL FOR NAVILLE (HILTON HOTEL) AND GENEVA FOR ICRC

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF: DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

1. BIGNAMI, ICRC, HAS ASKED US TRANSMIT FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO BE HANDED ICRC HEADQUARTERS GENEVA AND TO NAVILLE WHO AT HILTON HOTEL IN ISTANBUL. APPRECIATE CONFIRMATION DELIVERY BOTH PLACES.

BEGIN TEXT:

DE BIGNAMI A NAVILLE ICRC GENEVE

(A) FAISANT SUITE TELEGRAMME 17.00 AI RENCONTRE CHIEF ENAHORH QUI M'A PRESENTE "AGREEMENT ON RELIEF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS BY THE ICRC TO UL/IIHALA", C'EST-A-DIRE TECHNICAL MODALITIES DEVIENNENT UN AGREEMENT.

(B) EN COMPARANT TEXTE AVEC PRECEDENTE EDITION, PARTICULIEREMENT CELLE QUI A ET REMISE HIER PAR COURRIER ET QUE JE CONSIDERE COMME VALABLE, IL EST A NOTER LES POINTS SUIVANTS:

2.1. PROVISOR: THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVE MAY FUNCTION ALONE". ON PEUT COMPRENDRE QUE CES REPRESENTANTS PEUVENT FONCTIONNER SANS LES REPRESENTANTS DU GOUVERNEMENT DU DAHOMEY.

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The seal of the United States Department of State, featuring an eagle with a shield, holding an olive branch and arrows, with a constellation of stars above its head. The text "DEPARTMENT OF STATE" is arched above the eagle, and "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" is arched below it, separated by two small stars.

TELEGRAM

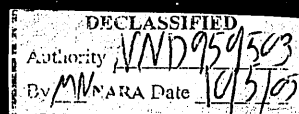
PAGE 02 LAGOS 07982 01 OF 02 040336Z

L'ANCIEN ART. 10 DEVIENT 5/ 5.1. SERA L'ANCIEN 10.1./5.2.
L'ANCIEN 10.2./5.3. L'ANCIEN 10.3.

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5.4. PLUS ADJONCTION SE LIT DE LA FACON SUIVANTE: "ANY ICRC AIRCRAFT UNABLE TO LEAVE ULI AIRPORT BEFORE THE ALLOTTED TIME DUE TO TECHNICAL REASONS SHOULD BE PROTECTED FROM ATTACKS BY FEDERAL FORCES PROVIDED IDENTIFICATION BE POSSIBLE AND THERE ARE NO UNAUTHORISED AIRCRAFT AT ULI." J'AI DEJA MENTIONNE CE POINT DANS TELEGRAMME 020919DPF, ET SI SECESSIONNISTES NE L'ACCEPTENT PAS, NOUS POURRONS LE SUPPRIMER. EXPLICATION LOCALE: IMMOBILISATION PLUS OU MOINS PROLONGE AVION CR SUR PIPHE, PARALLELEMENT A ARRIVEE OU ENVOL A AVIONS DE CHASSE NE DOIT PAS NOUS EMPECHER D'ATTAQUER AEROPORT.

(C) J'AI ESSAYE POUR EMPECHER UN VA-ET-VIENT DANS LES DISCUSSIONS D'EVITER DES CLAUSES SUPPLEMENTAIRES AINSI QUE JE L'AI MENTIONNE A L'AVANT DERNIER PARAGRAPHE DE MON TELEGRAMME 020919. MALHEUREUSEMENT FMG A VOULU INSERER DANS ACCORD COMME CLAUSES LES PROBLEMES QUE NOUS AVONS DISCUTES HIER. AINSI 6.1. SE LIT: "ANY INFRACTION OF ANY PROVISION OF THIS AGREEMENT WILL BE VIEWED WITH EXTREME DISPLEASURE BY THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND WILL LEAD TO A REVIEW OF THE WHOLE AGREEMENT."

6.2. "THIS AGREEMENT SHALL BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO MILITARY OPERATIONS BY THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT."

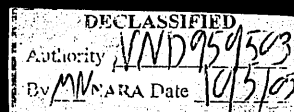
6.3. "THIS AGREEMENT WILL BE FOR A PERIOD OF THREE WEEKS FROM A DATE TO BE AGREED BY THE ICRC WITH THE NIGERIAN AIR FORCE AND THE NIGERIAN ARMY."

N'AI PAS DE REMARQUE SPECIALE POUR 6.1. ET 6.3. PAR CONTRE 6.2. SEMBLE POUVOIR DESEQUILIBRER ENSEMBLE DE L'ACCORD ET SON INSERTION A ETE PROBABLEMENT PROVOQUEE PAR LE FAIT QUE DESORMAIS IL EST DANS DOMAINE PUBLIC QUE BIAFRA, TOUT EN FAISANT UN CERTAIN NOMBRE DE CONESSIONS, A FAIT CERTAINES RESERVES QUANT A ULI. EN EFFET MARKPRESS RELEASE DU 28 AOUT QUOTE A CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE UNQUOTE MENTIONNE DANS TELEGRAMME DATE OWERRI CITANT BIAFRAN SPOKESMAN: QUOTE: "ALMOST A FORT-NIGHT HAS NOW ELAPSED SINCE WE AGREED TO THE RED CROSS PLAN FOR THE RESUMPTION OF RELIEF FLIGHTS TO BIAFRA, SINCE THEN WE HAVE HEARD ABSOLUTELY NOTHING." HE WAS REDERRING TO A RED CROSS FORMULA PUT FORWARD TO BOTH BIAFRA ND NIGERIA WHICH WOULD ALLOW MERCY FLIGHTS WHICH HAVE BEEN HALTED SINCE JUNE FOLLOWING THE NIGERIAN SHOOTING DOWN OF A RED CROSS PLANE WHICH TOOK PLACE IN DAYLIGHT. IT SEEMS AS THOUGH EVERYONE IS PLAYING THE NIGERIAN GAME, THE SPOKESMAN

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CONTINUED. WHILE THEY STALL A REPLY TO THE RED CROSS, WHICH THEY CAN DO INDEFINITELY, OUR WOMEN AND CHILDREN ARE DYING OF STARVATION IN INCREASING NUMBERS. YET NOT ONE WORD OF PROTEST OVER NIGERIA'S TACTICS HAS COME FROM EITHER THE RED CROSS OR FROM THE MAJOR POWERS. IT SEEMS ALMOST LIKE A CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE.

NOTE: NOT PASSED ADDRESSEES BY OCT.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 LAGOS 7982

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y

EXDIS

DEPT PASS ISTANBUL FOR NAVILLE (HILTON HOTEL) AND GENEVA FOR ICRC

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF; DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS.

THE SPOKESMAN ADDED THAT IN AGREEING TO DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS AMONG THE OTHER PROVISIONS OF THE RED CROSS PROPOSAL, BIAFRA WAS MAKING "A VERY CONSIDERABLE CONCESSION". HE EXPLAINED THAT BY DISMOUNTING THEIR DEFENCES TO ALLOW DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, THE BIAFRANS WERE EXPOSING ULI AIRSTRIP TO NIGERIAN ATTACK. HE QUOTED MR. HUGH FRASER M.P. A FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AIR, WHO SAID DURING A RECENT BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATE ON THE WAR: "I KNOW THAT THERE ARE AIRCRAFT BEING DRESSED UP TO LOOK LIKE RED CROSS AIRCRAFT. THERE ARE AT LEAST THREE SABENA DAKOTAS (TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT) BEING FITTED WITH BOMB RACKS AND MACHINE GUNS, I REGRET OF BRITISH MINISTRY OF DEFENCE DESIGN, AND THESE COULD BE PLACED INTO A COLUMN OF OTHER AIRCRAFT WITHOUT MUCH DIFFICULTY." THAT IS WHY WE HAVE MADE OUR ONLY TWO CONDITIONS TO THE RED CROSS PLAN. THAT ITS ACCEPTANCE IS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO OUR OWN USE OF ULI, AND OUR OFTEN REPEATED DEMAND THAT ANY PLAN OF THIS NATURE, INVOLVING DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, IS SUBJECT TO A THIRD PARTY GUARANTEE THAT THE NIGERIANS WILL NOT USE THE RELIEF "FLIGHTS TO MILITARY ADVANTAGE." ONE WOULD HAVE IMAGINED THAT THE UNITED STATES OR OTHER DONOR GOVERNMENTS WITH ALLEGEDLY HUMANITARIAN PRINCIPLES WOULD HAVE COME FORWARD WITH SUCH A GUARANTEE, BUT AGAIN WE ARE FACED WITH SILENCE." UNQUOTE

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Department of State

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UNE PARTIE DE CETTE DECLARATION SE TROUVE D'AILLEURS DANS UNE COUPURE DE PRESSE QUE VOUS M'AVEZ ENVOYEE - EXTRAITE D'IRISH TIMES DUBLIN 19.8.

COMME JE L'AI RELEVE DANS MON TELEGRAMME SUSMENTIONNE AVANT DERNIER PARAGRAPHE, ARTICLE 6.2 EST UNE SORTE DE PENDANT A LA DECLARATION DES SECESSIONNISTES, ET L'ON PEUT MEME SUGGERER DE LA SOUMETTRE AUX DUEX PARTIES, FORMULEE SIMPLEMENT COMME: "THIS AGREEMENT SHOULD BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE MILITARY OPERATIONS."

ON PEUT SE DEMANDER TOUTEFOIS SI LES TECHNICAL NOTES NE SE TRANSFORMENT EN UNE SORTE D'ACCORD POLITICO-MILITAIRE, ET L'ON SUGGERE UNE ADJONCTION QUI DISE: "IT IS HOWEVER FURTHER UNDERSTOOD THAT THE PARTIES (THE BELLIGERENTS) WILL TAKE ALL STEPS NECESSARY TO ASSURE THE SAFETY OF AIRCRAFT AND CREWS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS."

(D) CHIEF ENAHORO EN ATTENDANT QUE VOUS VOUS SOYEZ DECLARE D'ACCORD AVEC LES PROPOSITIONS SUSMENTIONNEES, INDIQUERA DEMAIN A LA PRESSE QU'IL Y A DES NEGOCIATIONS EN COURS, ASSEZ AVANCEES, ET PAS D'AVANTAGE. IL M'A DEMANDE DE VOUS PRIER DE VOUS ABSTENIR DE FAIRE DES DECLARATIONS AVANT QU'ON AIT PARAPHE ICI LEDIT ACCORD, QUI JE LE REPETE A MON AVIS NE PRESENTE PAS DE DIFFICULTES MAJEURES, - PART 5.4 QUI D'AILLEURS N'EST PAS UN POINT BIEN IMPORTANT, ET 6.2.

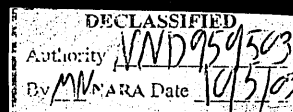
J'ETAIS PARTI DE GENEVE AVEC L'IMPRESSION QUE LA CLAUSE DE PROTECTION COLLECTIVE J'ETAIT PAS VITALE ET QUE LE PROF. FREYMOND AVAIT CONVAINCU LES SECESSIONNISTES D'Y RENONCER. JE COMPRENDS MAINTENANT PAR CONTRE EN AYANT LU RESUME DE LA REUNION PRESIDEE PAR BASSET QUE LA CHOSE EST EN COURS. DOIS-JE COMPRENDRE QUE TANT QU'IL N'Y AURA PAS DECLARATION DES GVTS RECONNUE COMME SUFFISAMMENT VALABLE DE LA PART DE SECESSIONNISTES, ON NE POURRA PAS COMMENCER L'ACTION DE SECOURS? POUR VOTRE ORIENTATION, J'AI JUGE OPPORTUN DE DIRE 2 MOTS SUR CEI QUI PRECEDE, COMME GMF CONNAIT DESORMAIS VOTRE INITIATIVE.

PENSE VU ETAT AVANCEMENT NEGOCIATIONS QU'IL EST PLUS QUE JAMIS NECESSAIRE DE GARDER SILENCE AU MOINS PENDANT 48 HEURES. ESSAIE ICI APLANIR DIFFEREND POINT 6.2. DANS CADRE INDIQUE, A MOINS QUE VOUS PUISSIEZ L'ACCEPTER TEL QUEL.

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JE COMPRENDS DERNIERE MINUTE PAR INTERVENTION AMIS QU'IL SERA TRES DIFFICILE OBTENIR REVIREMENT GMF SUR CE POINT. REPRESENTANT MEA A AJOUTE EN OUTRE QUE GMF ATTEND DU CICR DES PRECISIONS QUANT A REPOSE SECESSIONNISTE.

POUR RESUMER, ENJEU TELLEMENT IMPORTANT ESSAYONS DE VOLER ET DE PORTER SECOURS ET PAR LA SUITE NOUS POURRONS PERFECTIONNER L'ACCORD QUI, JE DOIS LE NOTER, NE SPECIFIE PAS LE NOMBRE DE VOLS CE QUI EST TRES IMPORTANT. NOUS AURONS DONC POSSIBILITE DE FAIRE PLUS DE 8 VOLS PAR JOUR SI CONDITIONS LE PERMETTENT ET C'EST UNIQUE CHANCE POUR MONTRER AU MONDE UNE FOIS DE PLUS CE QUE CICR PEUT FAIRE.

J'ENVOIE PAR AMIS COPIE DE CE MESSAGE A NAVILLE QUI NOTERA QUE ENAHOR DU MEA SERA A ISTABUL VENDREDI 5 ET DESIRE SI POSSIBLE OBTENIR DE PRD IDENT BRIEFINGSORAVAUX CONFERENCE.

ETONNE APPRENDRE CE SOIR QUE COOKEY PRETEND IGNORER QUE DISCUSSIONS ACTUELLES PORTENT SUR ACCORD 3 SEMAINES AVEC ESPOIR LE PERFECTIONNER RAPIDEMENT POUR PLUS LONGUE PERIODE. JE RAPPELLE QUE FREYMOND A PARLE CLAIREMENT DE LA MECANIQUE DES NEGOCIATIONS. CECI A ETE D'AILLEURS MENTIONNE DANS PROCES-VERBAL REUNION.

BIGNAMI

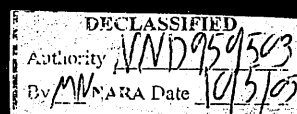
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FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8785

SECRET SECTION 1 OF 2 LAGOS 7982/1

EXDIS

DEPT PASS ISTANBUL FOR NAVILLE (HILTON HOTEL) AND GENEVA FOR ICRC

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF: DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

1. BIGNAMI, ICRC, HAS ASKED US TRANSMIT FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO BE HANDED ICRC HEADQUARTERS GENEVA AND TO NAVILLE WHO AT HILTON HOTEL IN ISTANBUL. APPRECIATE CONFIRMATION DELIVERY BOTH PLACES.

BEGIN TEXT:

DUIFGTGXZJQKFGMNKKZPXWO
WN JE#

(A) FAISANT SUITE TELEGRAMME 17.00 AI RENCONTRE CHIEF ENAHORH QUI M'A PRESENTE "AGREEMENT ON RELIEF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS BY THE ICRC TO ULI/IIHALA", C'EST-A-DIRE TECHNICAL MODALITIES DEVIENNENT UN AGREEMENT.

(B) EN COMPARANT TEXTE AVEC PRECEDENTE EDITION, PARTICULIEREMENT CELLE QU'AI REMISE HIER PAR COURRIER ET QUE JE CONSIDERE COMME VALABLE, IL EST A NOTER LES POINTS SUIVANTS:

2.1. PROVISOR: THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVE MAY FUNCTION ALONE". ON PEUT COMPRENDRE QUE CES REP# USANTANTS PEUVENT FONCTIONNER SANS LES REPRESENTANTS DU GOUVERNEMENT DU DAHOMEY.

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The seal of the United States Department of State is located at the top center of the page. It features an eagle with wings spread, perched on a shield with vertical stripes. Above the eagle's head is a constellation of stars. The entire emblem is encircled by the text "DEPARTMENT OF STATE" at the top and "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" at the bottom, separated by two small stars on the left and right.

TELEGRAM

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204. "WHEN CLEARANCE IS GIVEN ONE COPY OF THE DOCUMENTS WILL BE ON BOARD THE AIRCRAFT. ONE OTHER COPY WILL BE HANDED OVER TO EACH CONTROLLER." EN ORDRE PAS DE REMARQUE.

2.7. PAS DE CHANGEMENT AU TEXTE QUE NOUS CONNAISSONS, ETC QUI NE PORTE PAS LA MENTION DE LA RESERVE FAITE PAR LE BIAFRA.

"FLIGHTS, ROUTINGS TO AND FROM UL, CALLSIGNS, RADIO, COMMUNICATION, EMBLEMS, TYPES OF AIRCRAFT AND FLIGHT SCHEDULES SHALL BE AS AGREED FROM TIME TO TIME BY THE ICRC WITH THE NIGERIAN AIR FORCE AND THE NIGERIAN ARMY."

L'ANCIEN ART. 10 DEVIENT 5/ 5.1. SERA L'ANCIEN 10.1./5.2.
L'ANCIEN 10.2./5.3. L'ANCIEN 10.3.

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5.4. PLUS ADJONCTION SE LIT DE LA FACON SUIVANTE: "ANY ICRC AIRCRAFT UNABLE TO LEAVE ULI AIRPORT BEFORE THE ALLOTTED TIME DUE TO TECHNICAL REASONS SHOULD BE PROTECTED FROM ATTACKS BY FEDERAL FORCES PROVIDED IDENTIFICATION BE POSSIBLE AND THERE ARE NO UNAUTHORISED AIRCRAFT AT ULI." AI DEJA MENTIONNE CE POINT DANS TELEGRAMME 020919DPF, ET SI SECESSIONNISTES NE L'ACCEPTENT PAS, NOUS POURRONS LE SUPPRIMER. EXPLICATION LOCALE: IMMOBILISATION PLUS OU MOINS PROLONGE AVION CR SUR PIFHE, PARALLELEMENT A ARRIVEE OU ENVOL AI AVIONS DE CHASSE NE DOIT PAS NOUS EMPECHER D'ATTAQUER AEROPORT.

(C) J'AI ESSAYE POUR EMPECHER UN VA-ET-VIENT DANS LES DISCUSSIONS D'EVITER DES CLAUSES SUPPLEMENTAIRES AINSI QUE JE L'AI MENTIONNE A L'AVANT DERNIER PARAGRAPHE DE MON TELEGRAMME 020919. MALHEUREUSEMENT FMG A VULU INSERER DANS ACCORD COMME CLAUSES LES PROBLEMES QUE NOUS AVONS DISCUTES HIER. AINSI 6.1. SE LIT: "ANY INFRACTION OF ANY PROVISION OF THIS AGREEMENT WILL BE VIEWED WITH EXTREME DISPLEASURE BY THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND WILL LEAD TO A REVIEW OF THE WHOLE AGREEMENT."

6.2. "THIS AGREEMENT SHALL BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO MILITARY OPERATIONS BY THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT."

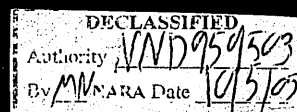
6.3. "THIS AGREEMENT WILL BE FOR A PERIOD OF THREE WEEKS FROM A DATE TO BE AGREED BY THE ICRC WITH THE NIGERIAN AIR FORCE AND THE NIGERIAN ARMY."

NI AI PAS DE REMARQUE SPECIALE POUR 6.1. ET 6.3. PAR CONTRE 6.2. SEMBLE POUVOIR DESEQUILIBRER ENSEMBLE DE L'ACCORD ET SON INSERTION A ETE PROBABLEMENT PROVOQUEE PAR LE FAIT QUE DESORMAIS IL EST DANS DOMAINE PUBLIC QUE BIAFRA, TOUT EN FAISANT UN CERTAIN NOMBRE DE CONESSIONS, A FAIT CERTAINES RESERVES QUANT A ULI. EN EFFET MARKPRESS RELEASE DU 28 AOUT QUOTE A CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE UN-QUOTE MENTIONNE DANS TELEGRAMME DATE OWERRI CITANT BIAFRAN SPOKESMAN: QUOTE: "ALMOST A FORT-NIGHT HAS NOW ELAPSED SINCE WE AGREED TO THE RED CROSS PLAN FOR THE RESUMPTION OF RELIEF FLIGHTS TO BIAFRA, SINCE THEN WE HAVE HEARD ABSOLUTELY NOTHING." HE WAS REDERRING TO A RED CROSS FORMULA PUT FORWARD TO BOTH BIAFRA AND NIGERIA WHICH WOULD ALLOW MERCY FLIGHTS - WHICH HAVE BEEN HALTED SINCE JUNE FOLLOWING THE NIGERIAN SHOOTING DOWN OF A RED CROSS PLANE WHICH TOOK PLACE IN DAYLIGHT. IT SEEMS AS THOUGH EVERYONE IS PLAYING THE NIGERIAN GAME, THE SPOKESMAN

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PAGE 04 LAGOS 07982 01 OF 02 040145Z

CONTINUED. WHILE THEY STALL A REPLY TO THE RED CROSS, WHICH THEY CAN DO INDEFINITELY, OUR WOMEN AND CHILDREN ARE DYING OF STARVATION IN INCREASING NUMBERS. YET NOT ONE WORD OF PROTEST OVER NIGERIA'S TACTICS HAS COME FROM EITHER THE RED CROSS OR FROM THE MAJOR POWERS. IT SEEMS ALMOST LIKE A CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE. BT

NNN
NOTE: NOT PASSED ADDRESSES BY OCT.
HAS RECEIVED CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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S E I C R E T LAGOS 7898

DEPT PASS: GENEVA FOR FERGUSON IMMEDIATE *BIAFRA-NIGERIA*

EXDIS: *POL 27-9 XR SOC 3 RED CROSS 31*

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF: CROSS RIVER TALKS

REF: LAGOS 7872: GENEVA 3123 - *POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA*

1. IN VIEW DELAY FMG IN TAKING DECISION ON ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSAL, WE CONTINUE DEFER APPROACH TO FOREIGN OFFICE FOR REASONS STATED LAGOS REFTEL. IN SEPTEMBER 1 CONVERSATION WITH ADLER, AID, OMO-BARE EXPRESSED "PERSONAL VIEW" THAT HE DID NOT CONSIDER CROSS RIVER ROUTE FEASIBLE AT PRESENT SINCE AREA STILL INSECURE. HE SAID WAS NOT RPT NOT IN FMG'S "MILITARY INTEREST". HE DID BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT IF REBELS AGREED TO PEACE TALKS IN CONTEXT OF "ONE NIGERIA" UNDER A TRUCE, CROSS RIVER ROUTE BE MOST ACCEPTABLE AND DESIRABLE MEANS GETTING FOOD INTO ENCLAVE.

2. MEANWHILE, OMO-BARE CONFIRMED GOWON HAD AGREED USE OF DONA MARIA AND DONA MERCEDES ON COASTAL RUN AND HAD WRITTEN LETTERS STATE MILITARY GOVERNORS TO THIS EFFECT. WE CONTINUE BELIEVE WILL BE HELPFUL IN GAINING ULTIMATE ACCEPTABILITY CROSS RIVER ROUTE IF THE DONAS CAN BE EMPLOYED ALONG COAST GP-1.
OLSON

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DEPT PASS: LAGOS IMMEDIATE

DEPT PASS: ADDIS ABABA, LONDON, PARIS, USUN

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF-DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REFERENCE: (A) LAGOS 7893 *re*
(B) GENEVA 3134 *at*

1. AFTER FERGUSON-GALLOWAY TELCON, CALLED NAVILLE AND SET OUT INFO ALONG LINES AGREED IN TELCON. INDICATED INFO WAS RESULT OF JOINT SOUNDINGS BY UK AND USG.

2. NAVILLE STATED THAT A UN REPRESENTATIVE, WHICH HE DECLINED TO DISCLOSE, HAD INFORMED HIM THAT THE DECISION WAS LIKELY TO BE FAVORABLE BUT THAT GOWON FOR "INTERNAL POLITICAL REASONS" COULD NOT MAKE THE DECISION OUT OF THE REGULAR COURSE OF BUSINESS. HENCE, DECISION WOULD COME WEDNESDAY AND BIGNAMI WOULD BE PROMPTLY NOTIFIED.

3. NAVILLE REACTION WAS THAT FMG REALLY MANAGING DECISION TO SECURE POLITICAL-DIPLOMATIC VICTORY AT ISTANBUL WHICH WOULD BLUNT EFFORTS TO LIBERALIZE THINKING ABOUT GENEVA CONVENTION.

4. FERGUSON INDICATED THAT IN LIGHT OF STATE OF PLAY AND WHATEVER MOTIVATIONS OF FMG CLEARLY NECESSARY FOR ICRC AWAIT DECISION. NAVILLE AGREED. NAVILLE FURTHER INDICATED HE LEAVING FOR ISTANBUL WEDNESDAY MORNING. WOULD APPRECIATE

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03136 021228Z

ONCE MORE UNUSUAL FLASH SERVICE OF EMBASSY FROM LAGOS RE
DECISION. PROMISED WE HAPPY TO COOPERATE AND WOULD HAVE
MESSAGE FOR HIM WAITING AT AMCONGEN ISTANBUL.

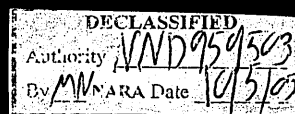
5. COMMENT: NAVILLE RESIGNED TO AWAIT FMG DECISION BUT IN
VERY BITTER MOOD. APPARENTLY FREYMOND HAD PREDICTED WAY
DEVELOPMENT WOULD TAKE PLACE AND FERGUSON OPINION FREYMOND
WILL USE SUCH STRENGTHEN HIS HAND INSIDE COMMITTEE AGAINST
DOVES. NAVILLE, AS INDICATED REF (B), RELYING ALMOST ENTIRELY
ON SUPPORT US CAN GIVE WITHOUT BECOMING INVOLVED IN INTERNAL
POLITICS OF COMMITTEE BELIEVE US HAS SPECIAL OBLIGATION
HELP NAVILLE MAINTAIN HIMSELF VIS-A-VIS HAWKS.
TUBBY

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ACTION: Amembassy LONDON

INFO: Amembassy LAGOS
" PARIS
US Mission GENEVA

Subj: Nigerian Relief

1. John Moberly, Political Counselor British Embassy, called into Dept today for discussion current Nigerian relief problem.
2. Status ICRC emergency daylight flight proposal examined and implications both positive and negative FMG responses discussed.
3. Moberly also given fill in on certain aspects Ferguson's recent conversations with Pope. He was told that Pope so greatly concerned with relief problem that he feels humanitarian considerations overriding. If ICRC forced withdraw, Pope suggests consortium of governments might sponsor relief airlift ~~an~~ even if FMG approval not obtained, and is pressing USG for full support JCA. ~~xxxx~~ Moberly told that it evident hawk faction among Vatican officials hold views parallel to those of ICRC hawks.
4. Ferguson conversations with Alphand in Paris also discussed with Moberly. He was told that French, (a) still appear disposed encourage continued Cross River talks, (b) to be seriously contemplating

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AF/SN:GBSerry:ba

DRAFTING DATE
9/2/69

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APPROVED BY:
AF/SN - William H. Brubeck

CLEARANCES:

EUR/EMI-Mr. Goldstein (sub)

U/CF-Mr. Dawson (draft)

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ACTION: LONDON, LAGOS, PARIS, GENEVA PAGE 2

increase in French relief effort from Libreville, and (c) have no designs on ICRC C-97's if ICRC withdraws.

5. In any conversations Embassy has with UK officials, comments on Pope's talks with Ferguson should not go beyond that indicated above.

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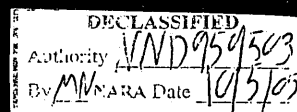
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ACTION: US Mission GENEVA PRIORITY

INFO: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

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~~LIMDIS~~

GENEVA FOR FERGUSON

SUBJECT: Proposed Dept. Press Statement re Daylight Airlift

REF: 1) State 146483 2) Geneva 3129

1. ~~Refert~~ Refertel was draft of ~~proposed~~ proposed voluntary statement for Department spokesman in event ICRC announces withdrawal from airlift. Statement has been redrafted as follows (A) along with alternate contingency voluntary statement if FMG accepts ICRC daylight proposal (B):

(A) The United States deeply regrets the circumstances which have brought about the decision of the ICRC to withdraw from the Nigerian relief effort. We greatly value the contribution it has made toward ~~the~~ saving the lives of millions on both sides of the fighting lines. The United States nonetheless continues its intense ~~the~~ interest in furthering satisfactory relief efforts and will continue to explore existing possibilities.

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:RLPerkins:nb	DRAFTING DATE 9/2/69	TEL. EXT. 23406	APPROVED BY: AF/SN: WHBrubeck
CLEARANCES: U/CF - Mr. Davidson		AF/P - WCPowell	
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INFO: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

(B) We have ~~known~~ learned that a ~~proposal~~ proposal of the International Committee of the Red Cross for emergency daylight relief flights into the Biafran enclave has been accepted by the parties. We understand that such flights may be able to ~~be~~ begin in the next few days.

The United States Government welcomes this arrangement, which should contribute significantly to meeting the food and medical needs of the civilian victims of the conflict located within the Biafran-held areas.

2. In view of time difference it possible one or other of these might be used at noon briefing Sept. 3. ~~Appreciate~~ Appreciate any comments, suggestions by opening business here Sept. 3.

3. FOR GENEVA: Statement (B) above would be issued without reference to Statements by ICRC or other governments (reftel 2).

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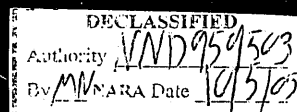
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" LONDON
USMission GENEVALIMDIS

Subj: Nigeria: Daylight Relief Flights

1. Following is current status proposal for emergency daylight relief flights into Biafran enclave by International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC).
2. ICRC President Naville expects to leave Geneva for Istanbul Sept 3 to attend International Red Cross Conference. Federal Military Government (FMG) of Nigeria expected afternoon Sept 3 to inform ICRC rep in Lagos of its agreement to permit ICRC daylight relief flights from bases at Cotonou, Dahomey and Santa Isabel, Equatorial Guinea, into Biafran-held enclave. Agreement would allow daylight flights for period of three weeks, subject to FMG inspection at ICRC airports and subject also to random call-down of planes by FMG for spot-check inspections at Lagos. Agreement of Biafrans to three week proposal already obtained, according to ICRC, but we uncertain ~~uncertain~~ as to what provisos if any attached.

3

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ACTION: ISTANBUL, ADDIS ABABA, LAGOS, LONDON, GENEVA PAGE 2
commitment

3. FOR ISTANBUL - In view our/~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ relay FMG decision to
Naville in Istanbul you will be asked transmit messages to him.

Ambassador C. Clyde Ferguson, appointed by President Nixon last
February as Special Coordinator for Nigerian Relief, who has been in
forefront negotiations with ICRC and FMG re continued relief
operations expected arrive Istanbul Sept 9.

4. FOR ADDIS - Additional guidance will be sent after FMG decision
Sept 3 for Ambassador to use in discussion Nigerian developments
with HIM.

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ACTION: AMEMBASSY GENEVA PRIORITY

INFO: AMEMBASSY LAGOS

REF: State 047459 y

SUBJECT: JCA Aircraft

FOR FERGUSON

1. In followup Newsom-Kinney Saturday conversation (reftel) Brubeck talked by phone with Bishop Swanstrom Tuesday am. He explained delay through Wednesday in Lagos negotiations and USG concern there be no leak re C-97s to upset Lagos talks.

2. Bishop Swanstrom cited deteriorating situation Biafra. He concerned about ~~that~~ continued delay delivery aircraft and said he is under pressure to complain ~~xxxxxxxx~~ publicly USG is not supplying planes. He also concerned delivery will take several weeks even after Department prepared go ahead. He urges we proceed with delivery under JCA undertaking there will be no publicity regarding transaction. Brubeck assured him arrangements for delivery going forward and we following through on our commitment to JCA. Bishop Swanstrom agreed wait for further call from Department Thursday at which time we ^{took} ~~under~~ ~~take~~ give him more definite word on delivery date.

Enq.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2799

S E C R E T GENEVA 3148

EXDIS:

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SUBJ: NIGERIA - RELIEF: GENERAL

1. FERGUSON ALONE CALLED ON KOLO SEPTEMBER 2 P.M. FOR OFF-RECORD TOUR D'HORIZON.

2. FERGUSON OPENED BY EXPRESSING GRAVE CONCERN CROSS RIVER TALKS. INDICATED FERGUSON OF GROWING OPINION FMG PLAYING GAMES, FERGUSON MAY BE UNORTHODOX BUT NOT STUPID AND FERGUSON WANTED STRAIGHT STORY FMG POSITION. KOLO COUNTERED HE ALWAYS ABOVE BOARD, FERGUSON KNEW HIS PERSONAL VIEWS BUT HE GOOD AMBASSADOR ALWAYS FOLLOW HIS INSTRUCTION. SAIO OVERRIDING QUESTION POLITICS SE STATE. SAIO USG ALWAYS ADVISING AFRICANS BE DEMOCRATIC - PAY ATTENTION VOICE OF PEOPLE. NOW VOICE OF PEOPLE IN SE REAL PROBLEM FOR FMG. ON TALKS SAIO FMG HAD TWO BASIC PROBLEMS: SPONSORSHIP AND INSPECTION. FERGUSON REPLIED THAT APPARENT FIRST SESSION - WHY NOT PUT CAROS ON TABLE AND DEAL WITH ISSUE. KOLO SAIO HE WILLING DEAL WITH ISSUE BUT ONLY IN CONTEXT FERGUSON-KOLO TALKS. THEN FERGUSON COULD TALK WITH REBELS AND REACH AGREEMENT THAT MOOE. HE NOT SIT DOWN WITH REBELS IN SESSION SPONSORED BY USG EVEN THOUGH USG REP. "BROTHER."

3. FERGUSON TOLD KOLO HE (FERGUSON) CALLING PLenary SESSION WEDNESDAY 3:00 TO DISCUSS NAVIGATION, VOYAGE AND A "ONE-SHOT STOCKFISH OPERATION" BEFORE FALL OF RIVER AND EXPECTED FMG SHOW UP READY TO PLAY BALL. I.E. NEGOTIATE. KOLO REPLIED "WE BE THERE AND READY TO PLAY FOOTBALL."

:SECRET

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0394

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Authority VND 959/503

By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

31

SECRET 391

PAGE 01 LONDON: 06928 021009Z

19
ACTION: SS: 70

INFO: OCT 01, CCO: 00, SSO: 00, NSCE: 00, CIAE: 00, USIE: 00, DODE: 00, 071 W
065353

Z 0 020950Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO USMISSION GENEVA FLASH
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2512
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

SECRET LONDON 6928

LIMDIS

1. IN RESPONSE OUR APPROACH, FONOFF (TEBBIT) HAS REPLIED THAT FERGUSON MAY USE SUBSTANCE LAGOS 7893 ON PERSONAL BASIS WITH NAVILLE, EXCEPT THAT UK HICOMER LAGOS MUST NOT REPEAT NOT BE QUOTED AS HAVING RECEIVED ANY ASSURANCE FROM GOWAN. RE ANSWER TO BE GIVEN SEPT 03.

2. FONOFF SUGGESTS FERGUSON MIGHT COMMUNICATE WITH NAVILLE ALONG FOLLOWING LINES: AS RESULT INTENSIVE SOUNDINGS BY UK AND US AT VARIOUS LEVELS IN LAGOS, WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO HOPE THAT ANSWER WILL BE RIGHT ONE. BIGNAMI PROMISED ANSWER 2:00 PM WEDNESDAY. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT WOULD BE TRAGIC IF ANYTHING WERE DONE IN GENEVA TO JEOPARDIZE CHANCES AGREEMENT WHICH COULD PUT WHOLE MATTER ON RIGHT FOOTING PERMANENTLY.
ANNENBERG

*London - 6928
19.2.69*

SECRET

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Authority: VVND 959503
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05

L I M D I S

I N C O M I N G

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DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT 72

Secretariat

Geographic

Other

S/S-S 1
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S/S-O DIR
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AF 5 *x5*
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EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

ACDA 5
AID 12

Functional

Principals and
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Other

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NASA
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NSA
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S/PM
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USIA 4 *P*
PC

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By MW NARA Date 10/3/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**
NR DEF 12-5 BIAFRA

CONFIDENTIAL 238

PAGE 01 LIBREV 00902 021615Z

48
ACTION: INR 07

INFO: OCT 01, AF 12, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01,

ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, UCF 05, UPW 01, ACDA 16, MC 02, E 15, RSR 01,

/183: W

067309

R: 021620Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2792

CONFIDENTIAL LIBREVILLE 902

CITE: SICR-DCDB 21909 (DIA)

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN AIRLIFT

1. AIRLIFT INCREASED MARKEDLY IN EIGHT DAYS SINCE AUGUST 25
WITH FOLLOWING PRESUMED ARMS FLIGHTS HAVING BEEN MADE:

DC-4 F-BBDD: NIGHTS AUG. 25-26, 26-27, 27-28, 28-29, 29-30,
30-31, 31 - SEPT 1, AND SEPT 1-2;

DC-7 TR-LOK: NIGHTS AUGUST 26-27, 27-28, 28-29, 29-30, 30-31,
AND 31 - SEPT 1.

2. PRESUMED RELIEF FLIGHTS SINCE AUGUST 25:

DC-4 F-BRHO: NIGHTS AUGUST 25-26, 27-28, 29-30, 30-31,
31 - SEPT 1, AND SEPT 1-2.

DC-4 F-BRAP: NIGHTS AUGUST 25-26, 26-27, 27-28, 28-29, AND
29-30.

DC-6 OO-HEX: NIGHTS AUGUST 28-29, 29-30, 31 - SEPT 1 AND SEPT 1-2.

3. DC-7 TR-LOK ARRIVED SOMETIME DURING DAYLIGHT HOURS
AUGUST 25 AND MADE PRESUMED ARMS FLIGHTS PER PARA ONE.

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By: MN NARA Date: 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LIBREV 00902 021615Z

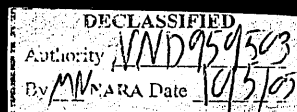
ABOVE. A SECOND DC-7 WITH SAME PAINT JOB AS TR-LIK, BUT WHOSE REGISTRATION NUMBER HAS BEEN OBLITERATED, ARRIVED LIBREVILLE NIGHT OF AUGUST 25-26, MADE PRESUMED ARMS FLIGHTS NIGHTS OF AUGUST 26-27 AND 27-28, AND THEN DEPARTED FOR AN UNKNOWN DESTINATION DURING DAYLIGHT HOURS AUGUST 28.

4. DC-4 F-BRHQ DEPARTED LIBREVILLE AT ABOUT 1000 LOCAL AUGUST 28 FOR AN UNKNOWN DESTINATION AND RETURNED AT 1700 THE SAME DAY.

5. UNLESS OTHERWISE INSTRUCTED, EMBASSY WILL HENCE FORTH REPORT THIS INFORMATION TO THE DEPARTMENT ONLY FOR DISTRIBUTION AS IT DESIRES.
FUNKHOUSER

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0398





POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State
TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03145 021824Z

53
ACTION AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, SCS 04, SCA 01,
SR 01, ORM 03, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28, RSR 01, /156 W
----- 068143

R 021714Z SEP 69
FM: USMISSION GENEVA
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC 2796
INFO: AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USUN: NEW YORK 3637

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE: GENEVA 3145

SUBJ: NIGERIA

1. FOLLOWING IS MARKPRESS RELEASE JUST RECEIVED:

QUOTE: "A CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE" ON BIAFRAN RELIEF?

OWERRI, BIAFRA, AUGUST 28, 1969 - "ALMOST A FORTNIGHT HAS NOW ELAPSED SINCE WE AGREED TO THE RED CROSS PLAN FOR THE RESUMPTION OF RELIEF FLIGHTS TO BIAFRA, SINCE WHEN WE HAVE HEARD ABSOLUTELY NOTHING," SAID A BIAFRAN SPOKESMAN HERE TODAY. HE WAS REFERRING TO A RED CROSS FORMULA PUT FORWARD TO BOTH BIAFRA AND NIGERIA, WHICH WOULD ALLOW MERCY FLIGHTS - WHICH HAVE BEEN HALTED SINCE JUNE FOLLOWING THE NIGERIAN SHOOTING DOWN OF A RED CROSS PLANE - TO TAKE PLACE IN DAYLIGHT.

"IT SEEMS AS THOUGH EVERYONE IS PLAYING THE NIGERIAN GAME," THE SPOKESMAN CONTINUED. "WHILE THEY STALL A REPLY TO THE RED CROSS, WHICH THEY CAN DO INDEFINITELY, OUR WOMEN AND CHILDREN ARE DYING OF STARVATION IN INCREASING NUMBERS. YET NOT ONE WORD

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03145 021824Z

OF PROTEST OVER NIGERIA'S TACTICS HAS COME FROM EITHER THE RED CROSS OR FROM THE MAJOR POWERS. IT SEEMS ALMOST LIKE A CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE."

THE SPOKESMAN ADDED THAT IN AGREEING TO DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, AMONG THE OTHER PROVISIONS OF THE RED CROSS PROPOSAL, BIAFRA WAS MAKING "A VERY CONSIDERABLE CONCESSION."

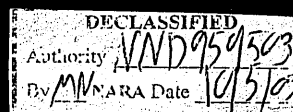
HE EXPLAINED THAT BY DISMOUNTING THEIR DEFENCES TO ALLOW DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, THE BIAFRANS WERE EXPOSING ULI AIRSTRIP TO NIGERIAN ATTACK. HE QUOTED MR. HUGH FRASER M.P., A FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AIR, WHO SAID DURING A RECENT BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATE ON THE WAR: "I KNOW THAT THERE ARE AIRCRAFT BEING DRESSED UP TO LOOK LIKE RED CROSS AIRCRAFT. THERE ARE AT LEAST THREE SABENA DAKOTAS (TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT) BEING FITTED WITH BOMB RACKS AND MACHINE GUNS - I REGRET OF BRITISH MINISTRY OF DEFENCE DESIGN - AND THESE COULD BE PLACED INTO A COLUMN OF OTHER AIRCRAFT WITHOUT MUCH DIFFICULTY."

"THAT IS WHY WE HAVE MADE OUR ONLY TWO CONDITIONS TO THE RED CROSS PLAN," THE SPOKESMAN ADDED. "THAT ITS ACCEPTANCE IS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO OUR OWN USE OF ULI, AND OUR OFTEN REPEATED DEMAND THAT ANY PLAN OF THIS NATURE, INVOLVING DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, IS SUBJECT TO A THIRD PARTY GUARANTEE THAT THE NIGERIANS WILL NOT USE THE RELIEF FLIGHTS TO MILITARY ADVANTAGE."

"ONE WOULD HAVE IMAGINED THAT THE UNITED STATES OR OTHER DONOR GOVERNMENTS WITH ALLEGEDLY HUMANITARIAN PRINCIPLES WOULD HAVE COME FORWARD WITH SUCH A GUARANTEE, BUT AGAIN WE ARE FACED WITH SILENCE." END QUOTE DECON UPON RECEIPT.
TUBBY

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

148000

POL 27-9 BIAFRA -
State NIGERIA
SOC 3 REDCROSS)

2 SEP 69 22 25z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy COTONOU
Amembassy SANTA ISABEL

INFO: Amembassy LAGOS
USMission GENEVA

STATE

SUBJECT: Nigeria: Daylight Relief Flights

1. If FMG agreement to ICRC daylight relief flights is announced Sept. 4, ICRC planes and crews at Cotonou and Santa Isabel will be brought into action for at least a three-week period. Dept. interested in ability ICRC to resume full-scale operations in ~~XXXXX~~ ^{event} daylight flights become possible. Posts are asked ^{discreetly} to ascertain status of planes and crews and ability of ICRC organization to start up again.

but xwktzou xcd ksp kaxkx xou dwe xkntk ksgt x

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:RJWach:nb

DRAFTING DATE

9/2/69

TEL. EXT.

23469

APPROVED BY:

AF/SN:WHBrybeck

CLEARANCES:

AF/SN:GB8herry

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4-68

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Authority VND 950/503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

66

POL 27-9 BIAFRA NIGERIA
147571

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET

Classification

Origin ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE

Info INFO : Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY
ROME "
GENEVA "
LONDON "
PARIS "
USUN "

STATE: _____

SUBJECT: NIGERIA - FERGUSON TRIP TO ADDIS

REF : LAGOS 7873'

IN LIGHT PENDING FMG DECISION ON ICRC EMERGENCY DAYLIGHT
FLIGHT PROPOSAL, FERGUSON'S OWN SCHEDULE, AND CONSIDERATIONS
ADVANCED REFTEL, FERGUSON AND NEWSOM AGREED IN AUG 31 TELCON
TO DEFER ADDIS TRIP. DEPARTMENT PLANNING SEND YOU SITREP ~~XXX~~
~~XXX~~

FOR USE INFORMING HIM ON NIGERIAN DEVELOPMENTS.

END

ROGERS

Drafted by: AF/DN:GSherry Tel. Ext. Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by: AF - Mr. Newsom

Clearance: U/CF - Mr. Davidson (Subst)

SECRET

Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0402

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Authority VND 959/503
By MVA Date 10/3/05

75

POL 27-9 BIAFRA -
NIGERIA 147587

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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1 SEP 69 20 05z

Origin

ACTION: US MISSION GENEVA

Info:

STATE

SUBJECT: Relief and Rehabilitation: VINNELL

Repeat Lagos 7874 to US Mission Geneva.

147587

ROGERS

END.

Drafted by:

U/CF:RDavidson:bjm

Tel. Ext.

9/1/69 29624

Telegraphic transmission and

Classification approved by:

U/CF - Mr. Davidson

Clearances:

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FORM DS-322
8-65

0403

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Authority VND 954503
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 052

PAGE 01 COTONO 00885 011411Z

44
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, EUR 17, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, UPW 01,

UCF 05, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, RSR 01, 144 W
062583

0 011355Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC 2370

C O N F I D E N T I A L COTONOU 885

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF: RENEWAL ICRC FLIGHTS FROM COTONOU

REF: LAGOS 7888 (NOTAL) - NC

1. TEXT BIGNAMI MESSAGE GIVEN TO STURZENEGGER WHO TRYING
CONTACT FLIGHT OPERATIONS OFFICER PRIOR REPLYING. EXPECT WE
SHALL RECEIVE STURZENEGGER ANSWER BY 1700 HOURS LOCAL TODAY.

2. FYI. STURZENEGGER SEEMED SOMEWHAT CONCERNED THAT
BIGNAMI MADE NO MENTION OF CLEARANCE FROM GENEVA FOR
POSSIBLE RENEWAL OF FLIGHTS TOMORROW. HE MAY WISH CLEAR UP
THIS POINT BEFORE GIVING DEFINITIVE REPLY.
LOORAM
BT

NNN

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0404

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Authority VND 95/503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 COTONO 00887 011915Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, AID 28, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, UCF 05,

UPW 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, RSR 01, 144 W
063217

O 011728Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC 2372

C O N F I D E N T I A L COTONOU 887

REF: LAGOS 7888: COTONOU 885 - POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

STURZENEGGER HAS GIVEN US FOLLOWING REPLY FOR BIGNAMI:

PRIMO: READY TO RESUME NIGHT OPERATION FROM 2/3-9 PENDING RECEIPT
OF CODES FROM BIAFRA WHICH TAKES AT LEAST 48 HOURS.

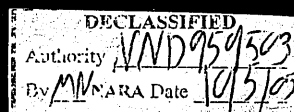
SECUNDO: IF NIGHT OPERATION ACCORDING TO PROCEDURES OF
EMERGENCY FLIGHTS 5-8 ONLY ONE RETURN FLIGHT EACH AIRCRAFT
PER NIGHT.

TERTIO: ONLY ONE COMPLETE C-97 AND ONE COMPLETE DC-6 CREW
AVAILABLE. COO PRESENTLY CAN INCREASE TO 2 COMPLETE CREWS
EACH AIRCRAFT TYPE IN 2-5 DAYS.

QUARTO: READY TO SEND COMPETANT DELEGATE TO ULI ON FIRST FLIGHT.
STURZENEGGER.
LOORAM
BT

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03128 011114Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01 IO 13 UCF 05 SSO 00 LS 02 SS 20 INR 07 JPM 04 SES 04

SCA 01 RSR 01 RSC 01 / 077 W

062078

O 011025Z SEP 69 ZFF-6

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2781

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3128

1. FOLLOWING MESSAGE IS FOR DELIVERY ASAP TO BIGNAMI ICRC:

BEGIN MESSAGE

URGENT POUR BIGNAMI INTERCROSS LIGOS DE FREYMOND
JE VOUS FAIS PARVENIR POUR APPROBATION PROJET STRICTMENT
CONFIDENTIEL DECLARATION CICR UNIQUEMENT EN CAS REPONSE
NEGATIVE OU DILATOIRE DU FMG

QUOTE:

AU COURS DE SEANCES EXTRAORDINAIRES TENUES LES 21 ET 28 AOÛT,
LE CICR A EXAMINE L'ENSEMBLE DE SON ACTION AU NIGERIA ET AU
BIAFRA DE MANIERE A DETERMINER SA POLITIQUE

IL A CONSTATE ET TIEN A RAPPELER TOUT D'ABORD QUE DANS LES
MOIS QUI ONT PRECEDE LA DESTRUCTION EN PLEIN VOL D'UN DE SES
AVIONS ET L'INTERRUPTION QUI EN EST RESULTEE DES VOLS DE
SECOURS VERS LE BIAFRA, LES EQUIPES PLACEES SOUS SA
RESPONSABILITE DISTRIBUAIENT DES VIVRES ET DES MEDICAMENTS
DE PREMIERE NECESSITE A PLUS DE DEUX MILLIONS DE FEMMES ET
D'ENFANTS DE PART ET D'AUTRES DU FRONT

DEPUIS LORS L'ACTION EN FAVEUR DES POPULATIONS
CIVILES EN TERRITOIRE NIGERIENS A ETE REDUITE, ALORS QUE LES
SECOURS AUX POPULATIONS BIAFRAISES ETAIENT QUASIMENT INTERROMPUS.
PAREILLE SITUATION NE PEUT ETRE TOLEREE A LA LONGUE. TOUS LES
RAPPORTS RECUS SOULIGNENT LA DETERIORATION DE L'ETAT GENERAL

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GENEVA-3128
9-169

0406

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Authority VND 950503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03128 01114Z

DE SANTE ET L'AUGMENTATION CONSTANTE DE LA MORTALITE INFANTILE;
CONSTATANT QU'APRES PLUS DE DEUX MOIS DE NEGOCIATION
LES OBSTACLES A L'OUVERTURE DE VOLS DE JOURS N'ONT PAS PU
ETRE LEVES, RESOLU CEPENDANT A FAIRE TOUS SES EFFORTS POUR
VENIR EN AIDE D'UNE MANIERE OU DE L'AUTRE AUX POPULATIONS
VICTIMES DU CONFLICT, LE CICR A PRIS LES DECISIONS SUIVANTES:

1 EN CE QUI CONCERNE LES TERRITOIRES CONTROLES PAR L'ARMEE
FEDERALE DE POURSUIVRE SON ACTION CONFORMEMENT AUX DGL YSITIONS
DE LA QUATRIEME CONVENTION

2 EN CE QUI CONCERNE LES STOCKS ET LES MOYENS MIS A DISPOSITION
POUR LES POPULATIONS SITUEES EN TERRITOIRE BIAFRAIS, DE LES
DISTRIBUER CONFORMEMENT A L'INTENTION ET AUX INSTRUCTIONS
DES DONATEURS

3 D'INFORMER LES PARTIES AU CONFLIT QU'IL EST PRET EN TOUT
TEMPS A REPENDRE L'ACHEMINEMENT DE SECOURS AU BIAFRA ET
QU'IL A PREVU LES MESURES NECESSAIRES POUR FAIRE FACE
A CETTE EVENTUALITE.

ENFIN, LE COMITE ENTEND SOUMETTRE A L'EXAMEN DES INSTANCES ET
DES AUTORITES RESPONSABLES LES PROBLEMES POSES POUR L'UTILISATION
DU BLOCUS COMME ARME DE GUERRE.

UNQUOTE

AVONS FAIT TOUT NOTRE POSSIBLE PUR RESTER STRICTEMENT NEUTRE
DANS REDACTION CE COMMUNIQUE VOUS SERIONS RECONNAISSANTS
ENVOYER RAPIDEMENT VOS COMMENTAIRES.

MERCI VOS DEUX DERNIERS MESSAGES.

BIAFRAIS CONSIDERENT QUE PERIODE INTERIMAIRE VOLS URGENCE DE
NUIT INTRODUIRAIT COMPLICATION PEU SOUHAITABLE DANS PLAN
D'ENSEMBLE MAIS NE SONT PAS OPPOSES EN PRINCIPE.

ESPERONS QUE POURREZ FAIRE PREVALOIR VOLS URGENCE DE JOUR
SELON DISPOSITIONS GENERALES NOTRE PLAN ET ANNEXE TECHNIQUE.

SIGNE NAVILLE FREYMOND INTERCROIXROUGE. FIN DU MESSAGE.
END MESSAGE.

TUBINY

CONFIDENTIAL

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0407

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Authority VND 959/503
By MN/ARA Date 10/3/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA. NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03129 011524Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, UPW 01,

UCF 05, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, RSR 01, 144
062705

O R 011435Z SEP 69 ZFF4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2782
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3129

SUBJECT NIGERIA/ICRC

1. EARLY TODAY ICRC CALLED 11:00 A.M. MEETING OF LUNDT GROUP
REPS. AMBASSADOR TUBBY ACCOMPANIED BY GUTMAN ATTENDED FOR
US. BASSET PRESIDED, NAVILLE AND FREYMOND ABSENT.

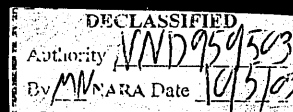
2. SPEAKING IN EXTREMELY FUZZY MANNER, BASSET EXPLAINED THAT
BIAFRANS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT SECURITY ASPECTS OF PROPOSED
DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. DRAFT (SEE BELOW) IN FRONT REPS REFLECTED
RESULTS OF TWO-HOUR MEETING BY FREYMOND WITH BIAFRAN REPS
SATURDAY P.M. AUGUST 30. BASSET ASKED FOR REACTIONS OF REPS
INDICATING THAT DISCUSSION, OF COURSE, BASED ON ASSUMPTION
POSITIVE FMG RESPONSE. HE INTIMATED ICRC ALSO PREPARED STATEMENT
IN CASE OF NEGATIVE RESPONSE. (SEE GENEVA 3128 NOTAL) BASSET
UNDERLINED THAT ICRC HAD MADE NO REPEAT NO COMMITMENT RE
DRAFT STATEMENT TO BIAFRANS.

3. REPS' COMMENTS RE DRAFT DIFFERED ONLY IN DEGREE OF LACK
ENTHUSIASM. SEVERAL (E.G. US, DUTCH, NORWEGIAN) IMMEDIATELY
POINTED OUT THAT REFERENCES TO "NIGERIA AND BIAFRA", "TWO
GOVERNMENTS" OBVIOUSLY UNACCEPTABLE TO LAGOS. NO ONE SEEMED
PREPARED ACCEPT THIRD PARAGRAPH. BASSET ALLOWED THAT FREYMOND

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THOUGHT "SECOND PARAGRAPH WOULD DO."

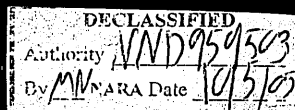
4. BASSET FUDGED ANSWERS TO SEVERAL QUESTIONS ASKING PRECISE STATUS BIAFRAN ACCEPTANCE OF ICRC FLIGHT PROPOSAL. AMBASSADOR TUBBY FINALLY ASKED POINT BLANK WHETHER STATEMENT OF SOME SORT CONSTITUTED SINE QUO NON FOR BIAFRAN ACCEPTANCE INTERIM PROPOSAL. AFTER SOME HEDGING BASSET CONCEDED THAT ICRC REALLY DID NOT KNOW. PROOF OF PUDDING WOULD BE IN FLIGHTS THAT ICRC WOULD START AS SOON AS FAVORABLE FMG REPLY OBTAINED.

5. THIS ANSWER WAS AT VARIANCE WITH EARLIER STATEMENT BY BASSET THAT ICRC HAD "GREEN LIGHT" FROM BIAFRANS. ONLY SUBSTANTIVE MODIFICATION REQUESTED BY BIAFRANS HAD BEEN INSISTANCE ON LANGUAGE TO EFFECT THAT "BIAFRAN RESERVES RIGHT FOR SECURITY REASONS TO REFUSE LANDING OF PLANES THAT HAVE TOUCHED DOWN AT LAGOS." BASSET CLAIMED THAT HE DID NOT HAVE PRECISE LANGUAGE. BASSET COMMENTED THAT ICRC DID NOT KNOW WHETHER THIS MEANT GENERAL OR SELECTIVE REFUSAL. NOTE: NAVILLE NEVER EVEN HOPED FOR SELECTIVE REFUSAL OF PLANES THAT HAVE TOUCHED DOWN LAGOS. LAGOS 7863, LAGOS 7881, AND GENEVA 3124 AND OUR SEPARATE TELEPHONE DISCUSSIONS WITH NAVILLE AND FREYMOND AS LATE AS 2230 AUGUST 31 GAVE US DISTINCT IMPRESSION THAT BIAFRANS "SELECTIVE REFUSAL" REFERRED TO DIRECT FLIGHTS TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR SOVEREIGNTY IN BALANCING CONCESSION TO FMG UNDER ARTICLE 2(7).

6. OTHER POINTS RAISED BY VARIOUS PARTICIPANTS INCLUDING U.S. WERE POSSIBLE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE EFFECT OF STATEMENT. BASSET COMMENTED STATEMENT TO BE ISSUED ONLY AFTER FMG APPROVAL IN FORM "APPRECIATION." ITALIAN REP THOUGHT STATEMENTS IF ANY, SHOULD BE MADE INDIVIDUALLY NOT COLLECTIVELY IN ORDER AVOID "GANGING UP" IMPRESSION. HE ALSO ADVOCATED STATEMENTS SHOULD BE MADE IN UN FRAMEWORK, I.E. UN SHOULD LEAD OFF WITH STATEMENT OF ITS OWN AT LEAST HALF DAY IN ADVANCE OF OTHERS SUPPORTING IT. UN STATEMENT WOULD REMOVE IMPRESSION THAT WHITE NATIONS WERE "MEDDLING" IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS. IN RESPONSE ITALIAN REP QUESTION, BASSET STATED NEITHER PARTY HAD RAISED JCA NIGHT-FLIGHT ISSUE. IRISH REP ADVOCATED STATEMENT OF PROPOSED PARA. 2. TYPE WHICH SIMPLE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATION TO FMG WITHOUT REPEAT WITHOUT PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT. HE THOUGHT SOME THIRD PARTY GOVERNMENTAL EXPRESSIONS NEEDED IN VIEW EXTREME BIAFRAN MISTRUST OF FMG. ALTERNATIVELY STATEMENT COULD BE MADE IN ISTANBUL. BASSET COMMENTED THAT FREYMOND HAD DISSUADED BIAFRANS FROM REQUESTING "INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE". AUSTRIAN REP POINTED OUT THAT GOVERNMENTAL REACTIONS RE PROPOSED DECLARATION COULD HARDLY BE OBTAINED PRIOR TO ICRC DEADLINE. BASSET STATED

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DUE COMMUNICATIONS DIFFICULTIES ICRC MOVING DEADLINE TO WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 3 MORNING.

7. BASSET SOMEWHAT OUT OF CONTEXT MADE STATEMENT THAT EVEN IN CASE NEGATIVE FMG REPLY ICRC WOULD NOT ABANDON OPERATION. IT WOULD CONTINUE EFFORTS EFFECT SMOOTH TURNOVER IN FMG TERRITORY WITHOUT "RETALIATION FLAVOR" AND PURSUE MANDATE UNDER CONVENTION. RE BIAFRAN, MEASURES WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKEN CONCERNING STOCKS, EQUIPMENT, ETC., HOWEVER, ICRC WOULD CONTINUE EFFORTS ARRIVE AT SATISFACTORY SOLUTION DAYLONG FLIGHT ISSUE AND WOULD BE READY RESUME OPERATIONS AS SOON AS FEASIBLE (HE SEEMED TO QUOTE PROPOSED ICRC PHASEOUT WITHDRAWAL STATEMENT). (GENEVA 3128 NOTAL)

8. COMMENT: FOREGOING ACCOUNT REFLECTS EXTREME CONFUSION PRECISE PURPOSE OF MEETING AND APPARENT UNCERTAINTIES WITHIN ICRC JUST WHERE BIAFRANS STAND. BASSET CONSISTENTLY REFERRED TO MEMCON SUMMARY BEFORE HIM COVERING FREYMOND/BIAFRAN (COOKEY) MEETING OF AUGUST 30. HE CLEARLY NOT FULLY CLUED IN NOR COGNIZANT VARIOUS IMPLICATIONS. WE HOPE BE ABLE CONTACT NAVILLE OR FREYMOND LATER TODAY IN ORDER OBTAIN CLARIFICATION. RE DRAFT WE SUGGEST US STATEMENT, IF ANY, (ALWAYS ASSUMING FAVORABLE FMG REPLY) MIGHT BE LIMITED TO WATERED-DOWN VERSION FIRST TWO PARAGRAPHS EXPRESSING SATISFACTION AND HOPE, AVOIDING OFFENSIVE TERMINOLOGY AND AUTOMATIC EQUATION OF INTERIM FLIGHTS WITH PERMANENT SOLUTION. (AMB. TUBBY DREW ATTENTION TO AMBIGUOUS DRAFT WORDING RE THIS POINT.)

9. FOLLOWING IS DRAFT STATEMENT WHICH, ACCORDING BASSET, REFLECTS FREYMOND'S MEETING WITH BIAFRANS RATHER THAN SPECIFIC ICRC PROPOSAL:

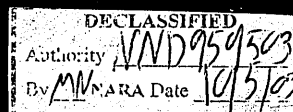
QUOTE: LE GOUVERNEMENT.....PREND CONNAISSANCE AVEC SATISFACTION DE LA DECISION PRISE PAR LES DEUX PARTIES AU CONFLIT OPPOSANT LE NIGERIA ET LE BIAFRA D'AUTORISER L'OUVERTURE D'UN PONT AERIEN DIURNE.

IL EXPRIME L'ESPOIR QUE L'ACHEMINEMENT DES SECOURS POURRA ETRE AINSI ASSURE POUR L'AVENIR, ET ADRESSE UN APPEL PRESSANT AUX DEUX GOUVERNEMENTS POUR QU'ILS S'ABSTIENNENT DE TOUTE OPERATION MILITAIRE ET DE TOUTE ACTION QUI POURRAIT MENACER LA SECURITE DES AVION CROIX-ROUGE ET METTRE EN QUESTION LA POURSUITE DE CETTE ACTION HUMANITAIRE.

IL SE RESERVE LA LIBERTE DE PRENDRE TOUTE MESURE QU'IL JUGERA IT

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OPPORTUNE AU CAS OU L'ACCORD QUI EST INTERVENU NE SERAIT PAS
RESPECTE PAR L'UNE OU L'AUTRE DES PARTIES AU CONFLICT. END QUOTE
10. WILL APPRECIATE INSTRUCTIONS.
TUBBY

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ORM 03, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,
INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, RSR 01, 144
063202

O P 011830Z SEP 69 ZFF4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2784
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

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- REFERENCE (1) GENEVA 2892
(2) LAGOS 7725
(3) STATE 146238
(4) GENEVA 3105

DEPT PASS AID/NIGERIA/NORTH & WILSON

1. FOLLOWING IS SUGGESTED DRAFT REPLY TO NAVILLE (CLEARED BY
AMB FERGUSON) FOR SIGNATURE BY AMB TUBBY (OPENING AND ENDING
OMITTED) BASED ON REF (2):

BEGIN TEXT

THE POSITION OF MY GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE DISPOSITION OF
US DONATED RELIEF SUPPLIES WHICH ARE NOT LOCATED IN NIGERIA
IS AS FOLLOWS:

1. WE DO NOT INTEND TO RECLAIM OWNERSHIP OF SUPPLIES CONTRIBUTED
DIRECTLY OR THROUGH OTHER VOLUNTARY AGENCIES TO THE ICRC FOR
DISTRIBUTION WITHIN FMG CONTROLLED TERRITORY.
2. BASICALLY WE WILL WISH TO BE GUIDED IN THE TURNOVER OF
SUPPLIES BY ICRC'S ARRANGEMENTS WITH ITS SUCCESSOR AGENCY
(OR AGENCIES) WITH DUE RESPECT TO USAID END-USE CRITERIA.
WE UNDERSTAND THAT DETAILS ARE BEING WORKED OUT BY OUR AID

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MISSION IN LAGOS IN CLOSE COOPERATION WITH DR. BIGNA I AND THE ICRC RESIDENT STAFF.

3. IMPLICATIONS OF THE TERMINATION OF ICRC'S COORDINATING ROLE IN FMG TERRITORY FOR THE LSM CONTRACT WILL BE EXAMINED DIRECTLY WITH THE ICRC/GENEVA BY AMB. FERGUSON OR HIS DESIGNATE.

4. SPECIAL PROBLEMS SUCH AS DISPOSITION OF STOCKS UNDER ICRC CONTROL, THAT ARE LOCATED OUTSIDE OF NIGERIA, OF CASH BALANCES, ETC., CAN BE DISCUSSED AT THE ICRC'S CONVENIENCE AS THEY ARISE.

END TEXT

2. REQUEST COMMENTS BY COB TO MEET SEPT 3 DEADLINE SET BY FREYMOND (REF 4).
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ACTION AF 18

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INR 07, NSAE 00, AID 28, L 03, RSR 01, 128 W

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PI 8, 1032Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 703
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AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION USUN

SECRET ADDIS ABABA 3869

ROME FOR FERGUSON

SUBJECT: NIGERIA; FERGUSON; VISIT ADDIS

REF: A. STATE 146984; B. LAGOS 7873; C. ADDIS 3857

1. ALTHOUGH MINPALACE HAS ASSURED ME FERGUSON
AUDIENCE WILL BE GRANTED, PROBABLY AM SEPT 3, HAVE
RECEIVED NO CONFIRMATION AS YET.

2. WE AGREE TELLI CAPABLE OF STIMULATING NEGATIVE
RUMORS ABOUT PURPOSE FERGUSON VISIT, ESPECIALLY IN
LIGHT HIS APPARENT ATTITUDE AS REFLECTED HIS APPARENT
MISREPRESENTATION OR MISUNDERSTANDING MY INQUIRIES
RE AGENDA. BECAUSE OF AFRICA MISSIONS' ABSORPTION
OAU COUNCIL MINISTERS MEETINGS I HAVE NOT PRESSED
FOR FURTHER TALKS EITHER WITH OAU SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS
OR NIGERIANS. QUESTION OF U.S. ROLE HAS NOT ARISEN
IN NUMBER OF TALKS OVER WEEKEND WITH OTHER AFRICAN DELS,
HOWEVER, AND WE HAVE NO IMPRESSION ISSUE IS SUBJECT OF WIDE
SPREAD OR INTENSIVE INTEREST AT THIS POINT. WORD OF FERGUSON'S
PRESENCE IN TOWN, OF COURSE, LIKELY STIMULATE CERTAIN AMOUNT
OF REACTION POSSIBLY SUSCEPTIBLE OF MANIPULATION BY TELLI

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AND FMG REPS HERE.

3. AT WEEKEND BREAK IN OAU MINISTERIAL MEETINGS, EVERY INDICATION IS THAT NIGERIA HAS NOT YET BEEN TACKLED FRONTALLY IN CRISS-CROSS OF DELEGATION CONSULTATIONS TAKING PLACE DAILY THROUGHOUT CITY. MOST DELS WITH WHOM WE HAVE TALKED INDICATE EXPECTATION NIGERIA WILL BE LEFT TO SUMMIT SCHEDULED COMMENCE SEPT 6. BEYOND PRESENTATION BY HIM OF REQUIRED REPORT ON ACTIVITIES CONCOM SINCE ALGIERS, HOWEVER, MOST DELS REFLECT FEELING NOTHING VERY DRAMATIC ON NIGERIA WILL TRANSPIRE AT CURRENT OAU MEETINGS. NUMBER OF DELS SAY FMG REPS CONDUCTING ENERGETIC CAMPAIGN IN CORRIDORS TO BOLSTER IMAGE FMG, INDICATING TO THEM FMG EXPECTS INITIATE FINAL DRIVE TOWARD MILITARY SOLUTION IMMEDIATELY AFTER TERMINATION OAU MEETINGS. LIKELIHOOD THAT ONLY GHANA'S AFRIFA OF CONCOM HEADS OF STATE WILL COME TO ADDIS NEXT WEEK CITED BY SOME AS FACTOR MILITATING AGAINST FURTHER OAU ACTION ON NIGERIA AT THIS TIME.
HALL

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ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, 1071 W
062724

O 011515Z SEP 69 ZFF6
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2783
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3130

LIMDIS

1. SHARP (UK) (PROTECT) JUST TOLD US THAT HICOM HAS 3:00
PM APPOINTMENT WITH GOWON TO DELIVER PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM
PM WILSON URGING POSITIVE ATTITUDE RE ICRC PROPOSAL. SHARP
THOUGHT SIMILAR MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT NIXON ON ITS WAY.
TUBBY

Review 3130
9-1-69

(1)

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FOR FERGUSON

SUBJ: Cross River

REF: State 147032

Assistant Secretary Newsom in conversation with Ambassador

Iyalla stated that USG prepared to make available technicians

for talks in Geneva as requested Ref (A). Newsom did not

specify Washington as source purposely leaving matter vague

to provide flexibility in choice. Iyalla said he would inform

Lagos.

GP-3

END

ROGERS

Drafted by:

U/CF:RDavidson:ls 9/1/69

Tel. Ext.

29476

Telegraphic transmission and

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AF - DDNewsom

Clearance:

AF/SN:GSherry

S/S -

Mr. Hawley

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C <u>10</u>		NEA	
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O 011540Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6669
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION GENEVA
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SECRET SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 13157

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF; ALPHAND-FERGUSON MEETING SEPT. 1

SUMMARY: IN COURSE OF ALPHAND-FERGUSON MEETING, SEPT. 1, FOLLOWING POINTS EMERGED: (A) FRENCH REMAIN WILLING RENDER ANY ASSISTANCE USG IN NIGERIA/BIAFRA PROBLEM; (B) FRENCH CONTEMPLATE INCREASING FRENCH RED CROSS AIRLIFT; (C) FRENCH HAVE COMMITMENT FOR RELIEF SUPPLIES FROM UNICEF BUT HOLDING OFF ANY FURTHER ACTION PENDING OUTCOME ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSALS; (D) FRENCH FIRMLY BACK CROSS RIVER AS LOGICAL AND ONLY TRUE SOLUTION RELIEF PROBLEM; AND (E) FRENCH WILL NOT BID FOR C-97S NOW HELD BY ICRC BUT WILL INCREASE LIFT THROUGH CHARTERS ON COMMERCIAL MARKET OR OTHER NATIONAL SOCIETIES.

1. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON MET WITH QUA SEC GEN ALPHAND AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR NON-FRENCH AFRICA CARRAUD NOON SEPTEMBER 1. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON GAVE ALPHAND RUN-DOWN OF CURRENT SITUATION WITH RESPECT BOTH EMERGENCY AIRLIFT AND CROSS RIVER PROPOSALS AS SEEN FROM GENEVA, AND BRIEF FILL-IN ON AUGUST 30 CALL ON POPE. FERGUSON THANKED FRENCH FOR SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS IN GETTING BIAFRANS TO GENEVA TALKS. ALPHAND ASKED FERGUSON, "DO YOU THINK WE CAN DO MORE TO HELP YOU?" FERGUSON ANSWERED, "I THINK AT THIS STAGE WE HAVE ASKED AS MUCH AS WE CAN CONCEIVABLY ASK OF YOU AND YOU HAVE DELIVERED." ALPHAND SAID FRENCH WOULD

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LIKE TO BE KEPT INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS." AND WE WILL DO WHAT WE CAN." ALPHAND CALLED RELIEF SITUATION "A VERY, VERY GRAVE PROBLEM FOR HUMANITY."

2. RE EMERGENCY AIRLIFT, AMBASSADOR FERGUSON STRESSED THAT KEY ISSUE AT PRESENT WAS FMG DECISION ON ICRC PROPOSAL. UNLESS AFFIRMATIVE FMG DECISION RECEIVED IN COURSE OF DAY SEPTEMBER 1, ICRC PLANNED ANNOUNCE WITHDRAWAL FROM AIRLIFT OPERATION. BIAFRANS HAD ACCEPTED BASIC PLAN FOR RANDOM CALL DOWN OF RELIEF FLIGHTS FOR INSPECTION IN LAGOS, WITH QUALIFICATION BIAFRAN RIGHT TO REFUSE LANDING AT ULT NOT ONLY TO ANY AIRCRAFT WHICH STOP IN FMG TERRITORY BUT ALSO, TO BALANCE FMG CALL-DOWN RIGHT, TO ANY OTHER AIRCRAFT IN RELIEF OPERATION.

3. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON SAID HE WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT FMG DECISION BEING TAKEN AND CONVEYED TO ICRC IN TIME TO AVERT WITHDRAWAL. ALPHAND WAS ALSO PESSIMISTIC ABOUT FMG ACCEPTING ICRC PLAN, NOTING FRANCE HAD WEIGHED IN WITH BIAFRANS BOTH TO SEND REPS TO GENEVA FOR CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS AND TO RESPOND FAVORABLY TO CURRENT ICRC PROPOSAL. ALPHAND HOWEVER SAID HE KNEW NOTHING ABOUT BIAFRAN ACCEPTANCE UNTIL FERGUSON TOLD HIM ABOUT IT. LAST TIME FRENCH CONTACTED BIAFRANS THEY REMAINED ADAMANT ABOUT REFUSING ANY FLIGHTS THAT TOUCHED DOWN IN LAGOS. ALPHAND ASKED ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF MORE PRESSURE ON UK TO GET AFFIRMATIVE FMG DECISION, AND FERGUSON SAID THIS HAD BEEN DONE AND ALSO VATICAN HAD BEEN ASKED PUT PRESSURE ON BOTH FMG AND BRITAIN.

4. IN EVENT ICRC PULLED OUT, AMBASSADOR FERGUSON SAID, TWO PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS WOULD BE DISPOSAL STOCKS OF FOODSTUFFS AND AIRCRAFT CURRENTLY IN HANDS ICRC. FOODSTUFFS NOT LIKELY POSE SERIOUS DIFFICULTY AS ICRC WOULD CONSULT DONOR COUNTRIES WHO WOULD PRESUMABLY WISH THESE ITEMS TO REMAIN IN RELIEF CHANNELS. THUS THEY WOULD PROBABLY BE TRANSFERRED TO OTHER AGENCIES ENGAGED IN RELIEF EFFORT.

5. ALPHAND SHIFTED DISCUSSION TO CROSS RIVER PLAN BEFORE QUESTION DISPOSAL OF ICRC AIRCRAFT REACHED. IN REPLY TO ALPHAND QUESTION ON STATUS PLAN TO SUPPLY BIAFRA BY WATER, AMBASSADOR FERGUSON SAID THREE MEETINGS ALREADY HELD, INCLUDING ONE FACE-TO-FACE. HE DESCRIBED CARTEL ARRANGEMENTS PROPOSED BY US, AND LEFT WITH ALPHAND COPY OF PLAN GIVEN TO FMG AND BIAFRAN REPS.

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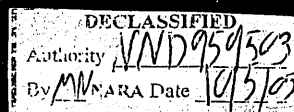
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PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS IN WORKING OUT CARTEL, HE SAID, WERE INSPECTION AND SPONSORSHIP. TWO-STAGE INSPECTION PROCESS ENVISAGED IN CARTEL MIGHT MEET OBJECTIONS BOTH SIDES, AMBASSADOR FERGUSON SAID, BUT SPONSHIP REMAINED MAJOR OPEN QUESTION. ALPHAND ASKED WHAT KIND OF SPONSORSHIP WAS ENVISAGED, AND FERGUSON SAID WE HOPED UNICEF, LICROSS, OR CONSORTIUM OF NATIONAL RED CROSS SOCIETIES MIGHT PROVE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES. BIAFRANS HAD SUGGESTED U.S. SPONSORSHIP WHICH WE HAD REGRETFULLY REJECTED, WHILE FMG SEEMED

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O 011540Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
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SECRET SECTION 2 OF 2 PARIS 13157

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF: ALPHAND-FERGUSON MEETING SEPT. 1

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF: ALPHAND-FERGUSON MEETING SEPT. 1

UNLIKELY ACCEPT EITHER SINGLE COUNTRY OR EVEN GROUP OF
GOVERNMENTS AS SPONSOR BUT MIGHT AGREE TO INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATION.

6. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON OUTLINED UNEVEN FOOD DISTRIBUTION
PATTERN IN BIAFRAN-HELD ENCLAVE AND SAID CROSS RIVER ROUTE
"ONLY ANSWER TO THE TOTAL PROBLEM OF RELIEF." ALPHAND ENCOURAGED
HIM TO CONTINUE TALKS, DECLARING "CROSS RIVER WAY IS MUCH MORE
IMPORTANT THAN AIRLIFT." WITH REGARD TO BIAFRAN NEGOTIATING
POSITION, ALPHAND SAID THAT FRENCH SUCCESS IN GETTING BIAFRANS
TO GENEVA AND GAINING BIAFRAN FLEXIBILITY ON EMERGENCY AIRLIFT
PLAN WAS ACHIEVED DESPITE GROWING BIAFRAN RELUCTANCE TO BE
FORTHCOMING IN ABSENCE GREATER EVIDENCE FMG WILLING DO LIKEWISE.
BIAFRANS TELL FRENCH THEY HAVE ACCEPTED MANY THINGS BUT FAIL TO
RECEIVE RECIPROCAL TREATMENT FROM FMG, WHICH WILL NOT MOVE,
AND THEY ARE THUS HESITANT TO GET TOO FAR OUT IN FRONT.

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7. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON SAID THAT WITH CROSS RIVER PLAN, AS WITH EMERGENCY AIRLIFT PROPOSAL, KEY QUESTION AKA REMAINED FMG POSITION. TO DATE, FMG REPS AT GENEVA NEGOTIATING ON CROSS RIVER HAD SEEMINGLY LACKED INSTRUCTIONS PERMITTING THEM TO PARTICIPATE FULLY IN NEGOTIATIONS. THUS, SESSIONS TEMPORARILY SUSPENDED UNTIL WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3. AT THAT TIME, IT MIGHT BECOME CLEAR FROM COMBINATION FMG RESPONSE ON AIRLIFT AND POSITION FMG REPS ON CROSS RIVER WHETHER FMG VAGUENESS TO DATE WAS MATTER ADMINISTRATIVE INEFFICIENCY OR DELIBERATE POLICY.

8. AT INVITATION ALPHAND, CARRAUD ASKED FERGUSON IF SEPTEMBER 1 DEADLINE ON COMPLETING CROSS RIVER TALKS STILL HELD (DATE HAD BEEN SUGGESTED BY FERGUSON AT AUGUST 7 MEETING WITH FONMIN SCHUMANN) AND WHETHER "WHITE PAPER" ON RELIEF STILL CONTEMPLATED. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON SAID IT HAD BEEN HIS INTENTION TO PUBLISH "WHITE PAPER" ON RELIEF EFFORT IF NEGOTIATIONS FAILED, BUT POPE PAUL HAD STRONGLY URGED AGAINST SUCH ACTION ON GROUNDS IT MIGHT COMPLICATE FURTHER SEARCH FOR SOLUTION. FERGUSON SAID POPE ASKED THAT U.S. RECONSIDER "WHITE PAPER" IDEA EVEN IF RELIEF EFFORTS FRUSTRATED, AND IN DEFERENCE TO POPE U.S. WOULD PROBABLY RETHINK WHOLE QUESTION.

9. AFTER MEETING WITH ALPHAND ENDED, FERGUSON PURSUED WITH CARRAUD QUESTION OF FUTURE PLANS FRENCH RED CROSS IN BIAFRAN RELIEF EFFORT. CARRAUD ASSERTED CATEGORICALLY FRENCH RED CROSS NOT RPT NOT INTERESTED IN OBTAINING C-97S NOW HELD BY ICRC. SAID FRENCH WERE CONSIDERING INCREASING THEIR RELIEF AIRLIFT FROM LIBREVILLE WITH SECOND OR THIRD PLANE, BUT WOULD OBTAIN NECESSARY AIRCRAFT BY COMMERCIAL CHARTER OR BY BORROWING PLANES FROM OTHER NATIONAL SOCIETIES. CARRAUD ADDED THAT FRENCH RED CROSS WOULD BE WILLING TO TRANSPORT SOME OF ICRC STOCKS IF ICRC WITHDRAWS, AND IN ADDITION HAS COMMITMENT FROM UNICEF FOR ADDITIONAL RELIEF SUPPLIES. HOWEVER, FRENCH RED CROSS AT ICRC REQUEST IS HOLDING OFF ANY STEP-UP IN ITS RELIEF FLIGHTS UNTIL THE OUTCOME OF CURRENT ICRC NEGOTIATIONS IS KNOWN. FERGUSON ASSURED CARRAUD THAT U.S. WOULD NOT OBJECT TO FRENCH RED CROSS TRANSPORTING ICRC STOCKS IF LATTER WITHDRAWS, SAYING "WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO ANYBODY INCREASING TONNAGE, SINCE WE KNOW WHAT DEMAND IS."

10. COMMENT: (A) ALPHAND STANCE IN GENERAL CLOSE TO VEST, BUT VERY EXPLICIT THAT FRENCH BACK CROSS RIVER TO THE

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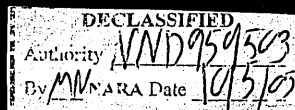
PAGE 03 PARIS 13157 02 OF 02 011709Z

BITTER END. (B) FERGUSON OF OPINION FRENCH VERY CONCERNED
RE POSSIBLE USG "WHITE PAPER" ON RELIEF. SEEMS OBVIOUS FRENCH
TAKING STEPS TO "LOOK GOOD" IN CASE OF ISSUANCE. FRENCH INSIST
THEY RESPONSIBLE FOR BIAFRAN PRESENCE AT GENEVA TALKS AND
RESPONSIBLE FOR "REASONABLE RESPONSES" FROM BIAFRANS ON ICRC
PROPOSAL. (C) FOR OWN PURPOSES, FRENCH DESIRE CONTINUING
CLOSE USG CONTACT. (D) CLEAR THAT FRENCH HAVE THE MESSAGE
RE C-97S OUT OF LIBREVILLE AND NOT WILLING JEOPARDIZE WARMING
RELATIONSHIP FOR THREE OR FOUR C-97S.

GP-3.
SHRIVER

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Department of State
TELEGRAM

SECRET 133

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03134 011958Z

91
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Z 011940Z SEP 69 ZFF4
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 2785

SECRET GENEVA 3134

EXDIS

DEPT PASS LONDON FLASH #

DEPT PASS ROUTINE ADDIS ABABA, LAGOS, PARIS, USUN #

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF-DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REFERENCE LAGOS 7893

1. FERGUSON CALLED NAVILLE UPON RETURN FROM PARIS AND AFTER RECEIPT OF REFTEL TO INFORM THAT NO DECISION LIKELY BEFORE WEDNESDAY. DID NOT REVEAL SOURCE OF INFORMATION OR CHARACTER OF SOURCE. NAVILLE SOUNDED CRUSHED BY INFO ASKING REPEATELY WHY-WHY?

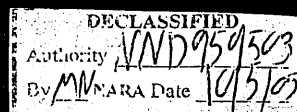
2. FERGUSON REQUESTED NAVILLE, AS PERSONAL FAVOR AND AT REQUEST OF USG, POSTPONE ANY PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT UNTIL WEDNESDAY. NAVILLE INSTANT WEDNESDAY MUST ANNOUNCE. HE LEAVING FOR ISTANBUL WEDNESDAY SEPTEMBER 3 AND CONSEQUENTLY TO PRESERVE POSITION WITH COMMITTEE MUST TAKE ACTION BEFORE DEPARTURE. FERGUSON REQUESTED URGENTLY THAT NO PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT BE MADE AT LEAST UNTIL NOON WEDNESDAY SEPTEMBER 3. FERGUSON ASKED DELAY AS SPECIAL CONSIDERATION FERGUSON AND USG EFFORTS IN MATTER. INDICATED TO NAVILLE COULD NOT GUARANTEE NATURE OF DECISION BUT ALMOST CERTAIN SOME DECISION BY WEDNESDAY. NAVILLE FINALLY PROMISED MAKE NO PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT PRIOR TO WEDNESDAY 12:00 NOON LOCAL TIME.

4. NAVILLE REQUESTED IN EXCHANGE FOR COMMITMENT RE POSTPONEMENT PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT THAT TUESDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 2,

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03134 011958Z

WE GIVE FULL INFO RE REASONS FMG DELAY TO BE USED IN EXTRAORDINARY ICRC MEETING, SCHEDULED TUESDAY MORNING SEPTEMBER 2.

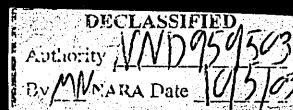
5. COMMENT: NAVILLE CLEARLY NOW IN DESPARATE POSITION ALMOST TOTALLY RELYING ON US FOR SUPPORT. FERGUSON FEELS URGENT HAVE FIRM BACKUP FROM DEPARTMENT AND LAGOS IN ORDER TO KEEP COMMITMENT TO NAVILLE IN EXCHANGE FOR PROMISE FURTHER DELAY PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT. FERGUSON HAS NOT CONVEYED LAGOS INFO OR PARIS INFO TO FREYMOND. AS MATTER PERSONAL JUDGMENT FERGUSON FEELS FREYMOND STANDING IN WINGS WAITING FOR DISASTER ON WEDNESDAY. TUBBY

NOTE: # NOT PASSED BY OC/T.

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ACTION: Amembassy LONDON FLASH
INFO: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE
U.S. Mission GENEVA IMMEDIATE

STATE: _____

REF :A.LAGOS 7893

B.GENEVA 3129

1. Following receipt Ref A, Newsom had telcon with Ferguson in course of which latter indicated that on basis very generalized and non-ascribed version Ref A he able extract promise from very up-tight Neville that ICRC would make no announcement prior noon Sept 3. Ferguson feels if he able give Neville more of details included Ref A he will probably be able induce latter to postpone announcement through Wednesday pending receipt report from Bignami.

2. In order make this possible, request Embassy seek obtain from HMG permission for Ferguson use, in manner described above, info ~~undisclosed~~ obtained from UK High Commissioner citing source, if possible. Lagos contained Ref A. If successful, inform Ferguson, Geneva FLASH.

Drafted by:

AF/SN: ~~Sherry~~

Tel. Ext.

22530

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by: AF - Mr. Newsom

Clearances:

U/CS - Mr. Davidson

S/S - JMHawley

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

POL 27-9 BIAFRA -
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1 SEP 69 20 18z

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Page 2 of telegram to EMBASSY LONDON

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3. It also Ferguson's view that representations to Swiss Government, as proposed Ref A, could have opposite effect than that intended on ICRC officials.

4. Nigerian Ambassador Iyalla has informed Newsom in confidence "chances are FMG will announce on Wednesday agreement to ICRC proposal for three weeks special airlift from Cotonou." Iyalla expressed strong hope ICRC would not announce pull-out before FMG decision. Timing of latter, according to Iyalla, dictated by "need to prepare public opinion and other factors."

END

ROGERS

FORM DS-322A
8-63
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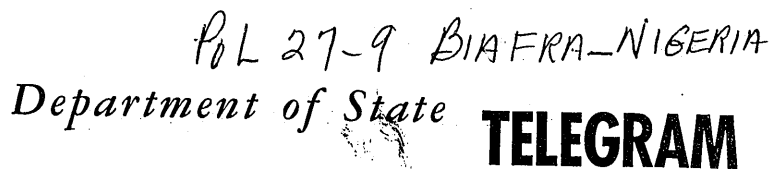
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FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
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USMISSION GENEVA
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

SECRET LAGOS 7893

EXDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF: DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

1. WHILE UK HICOMER IN LIGHT FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENTS DID NOT PRESS FOR REQUESTED APPOINTMENT WITH GOWON, WHEELS OF BUREAUCRACY CRANKED OUT 2:00 APPOINTMENT TODAY. GOWON COMMENTED THAT RECOMMENDATIONS HIS EXPERTS HAD BEEN CONVINCING AND THAT HE THOUGHT WELL OF THE IDEA NOT RPT NOT BECAUSE HE TRYING TO PLEASE OUTSIDERS BUT BECAUSE OF WHAT HE RECOGNIZED TO BE GOOD FOR NIGERIA AND FOR SUFFERING POPULATION IN REBEL AREA. HE POINTED OUT ISSUE POLITICALLY EXPLOSIVE IN NIGERIA AND FOR THIS REASON FINAL DECISION ON THIS MATTER MUST BE TAKEN IN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. IMPOSSIBLE CALL SPECIAL MEETING EXECUTIVE COUNCIL TODAY OR TOMORROW SINCE HALF OF MEMBERS OUT OF TOWN AND OTHERS (INCLUDING TONY ENAHOR) ILL. FURTHERMORE, HE BELIEVES TO CALL SPECIAL MEETING ON THIS SUBJECT WOULD GET BACKS UP AND BE COUNTER PRODUCTIVE. HE MADE FIRM PROMISE THAT REPLY WOULD BE FORTHCOMING BY 2 P.M. AND PERHAPS EARLIER WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3.

2. HICOMER EMERGED PERSONALLY CONVINCED THAT GOWON WILL STRONGLY RECOMMEND ACCEPTANCE ICRC PROPOSAL TO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. FYI: PROTECT. GOWON GAVE EVERY INDICATION TO HICOMER ANSWER WOULD BE FAVORABLE. ON WEDNESDAY BUT WHEN HICOMER REQUESTED GOWON TELL THIS TO BIGNAMI, GOWON DECLINED FEARING PREMATURE LEAK WHICH WOULD PALLY INTO HANDS THOSE IN FMG HIERARCHY WHO MIGHT

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OPPOSE PROPOSAL AND POSSIBILITY, ALBEIT REMOTE, OF TROUBLE IN EXCO. HICOMER MUST RPT MUST BE PROTECTED ON: GOWON STATEMENT TO H/M. END FYI.

3. EDDIE ENAHORO, WHO PRESENT DURING GOWON/UK HICOMER TALKS, TOLD HICOMER HE CONVINCED THAT EVERYTHING WILL GO WELL IN EXCO. WE AND HICOMER CONVINCED THAT POSSIBILITY REJECTION BY FMG UNLIKELY. WE EQUALLY CONVINCED THERE NO RPT NO WAY OF SPEEDING UP PROCESS IN FACE GOWON'S POLITICAL JUDGEMENT THAT FOLLOWING NORMAL ROUTE IS SOUNDEST. WHEN HICOMER EMPHASIZED ICRC DEADLINE, GOWON'S COMMENT WAS THAT IF THEY HAD TO TAKE ACTION THAT QUICKLY IN LIGHT SITUATION, THE ONUS FELL ON THEM, NOT FMG.

4. BIGNAMI IS PRESENTLY SEEING ENAHORO OF EXTAFF WHO WILL NO DOUBT NOT ONLY INFORM HIM OF DELAY IN DECISION BUT OF ANTICIPATED FAVORABLE RESULTS. BIGNAMI WILL THEN SEE HICOMER WHO WILL TELL HIM RESULTS OF TALKS AND EXPRESS HIS PERSONAL CONVICTION THAT FAVORABLE ANSWER WILL BE FORTHCOMING ON WEDNESDAY.

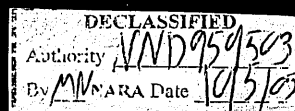
5. BIGNAMI WILL BE MAKING REPORT, OF COURSE, TO ICRC BUT WE URGE MISSION TAKE STRONG STAND WITH NAVILLE, FREYMOND AND OTHERS IN GETTING THEM DELAY CONTEMPLATED RELEASE UNTIL WEDNESDAY P.M. ALSO URGE DEPARTMENT, POSSIBLY IN MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY TO SWISS GOVERNMENT AND TO ICRC, REQUEST TWO-DAY DELAY ISSUANCE ANY STATEMENT TO PERMIT NORMAL GOVERNMENTAL PROCEDURES TO PRODUCE WHAT WE CONFIDENT WILL BE FAVORABLE DECISION ON FMG'S PART. HICOMER URGING SIMILAR FORCEFUL ACTION ON HMG AND ASKING LOCAL UN REP DUTCH AND POSSIBLY SOME OTHER MISSIONS REQUEST HOME OFFICES WEIGH IN WITH ICRC.

6. HAVE JUST LEARNED ENAHORO INFORMED BIGNAMI AS ANTICIPATED ABOVE AND ASKED HIM TO CALL AT EXTAFF AT 1400 HOURS WEDNESDAY FOR DECISION OF FMG. GP-1 OLSON
BT

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RS/R FILES

Attention *Mrs. M. M. M. M.*
Keep this study together.

September 9, 1969

Dear Mr. Briggs:

This document released to
public per 6/14/76 *Due F. R. Huch*

Thank you for your letter of August 19 in which you discuss the United States policy toward Nigeria and the present hostilities there.

Nearly 50 percent of all international relief contributions have come from the United States for impartial distribution to civilian victims on both sides of the conflict. This now amounts to about \$75 million in cash and in kind made available from public and private sources. In addition to food, our assistance has included payments for air and sea transportation to Nigeria and Biafra, sizeable contributions to the International Committee of the Red Cross, medical personnel, and funds for the support of the multiple U.S. and international voluntary groups involved in aiding war victims. Equally important have been the efforts by Ambassador C. Clyde Ferguson, Special Coordinator for Relief to the Victims of the Nigerian Civil War, to negotiate arrangements which would permit an increased flow of relief to the suffering people on both sides. These efforts are continuing and we are hopeful, with the good will of both sides, to achieve an agreement.

Assistance to Nigeria, now as before the war, supports economic development in areas of obvious need. To terminate these projects would hurt farmers trying to increase agricultural production, children who heretofore never attended

Mr. John DeQ. Briggs, Jr.,
Assistant Headmaster,
Middlessex School,
Concord, Massachusetts

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9/4/69

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school, and the infirm in need of medical care. In a word, the assistance program to Nigeria has no relationship to the war but only to an effort of improving the lives of people in need.

Another important factor is that much of the assistance being given to Nigeria is funneled to former Biafran-held areas where the first needs of medical aid and food to prevent starvation give way to a rehabilitation program which stresses agricultural aid and education as well as continuing medical services and food distribution.

I am enclosing a copy of a statement presented by me before the Subcommittee on Refugees of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and other information concerning United States Government participation in the relief effort to assist the victims in Nigeria and in the Biafran enclave.

I want to thank you for your interest in this matter and to assure you that the government is following every avenue of approach to increase the flow of relief supplies.

Sincerely,



Elliot L. Richardson

Enclosures: 2

U/CF:DBDawson 9/4/69

Clearances:

AF - Mr. Sherry

AFR/CWA - Miss Wilson

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By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05

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RELIEF TO VICTIMS
of the
NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

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Nigeria Relief Operations
Agency for International Development

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Authority VND 959503
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June 1, 1969

PREFACE

On February 22, President Nixon made the following statement, on announcing the appointment of Clarence C. Ferguson, Jr., as Special Coordinator on relief to the civilian victims of the Nigerian civil war:

" I know that I speak for all Americans in expressing this nation's deep anguish for the terrible human suffering in the Nigerian civil war. It is tragic enough to watch a military conflict between peoples who once lived together in peace and developing prosperity. But that tragedy has been compounded, and the conscience of the world engaged by the starvation threatening millions of innocent civilians on both sides of the battle ..."

The following report provides current information concerning the relief activities to meet the humanitarian needs on both sides of the Nigerian conflict.

U.S. CONTRIBUTIONS

It is U.S. policy to provide relief to civilian victims on both sides of the conflict, regardless of political association or physical location. All public assistance (U.S. Government) is channeled through U.S. voluntary and international organizations, with budget support provided only to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) as the coordinating organization for relief efforts on both sides.

By mid-May 1969, just 14 months from the first allocation of public U.S. assistance to an emergency effort in Nigeria, the U.S. Government had made available almost \$60 million in cash and relief supplies for an estimated three million civilian victims on both sides of the conflict. American private citizens and businesses, through U.S. voluntary agencies (24) had donated an estimated \$10.3 million in cash and in-kind, bringing the total to almost \$70 million in public and private contributions. (See Annex II.)

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U.S. Government Contributions are as follows:

Donated Foodstuffs: 59,329 tons of foodstuffs valued at \$12,800,000 have arrived in Nigeria and points of airlift embarkation for Biafra. The U.S. has committed a total of 160,000 tons worth \$29,645,000 to be provided to voluntary organizations on a call-forward (or as-needed) basis and over half of this will have been shipped by the end of June. Estimates to date are that 55 per cent of the foodstuffs, ordered and shipped, are destined for the Federal areas and 45 per cent by airlift for the Biafran zone. Of the original commitment, the following agencies were allocated foodstuffs valued at:

UNICEF	\$ 14,485,600
Catholic Relief Services	9,709,400
Church World Service	5,450,300
	<u>\$ 29,645,300</u>

Transportation: An estimated \$10.5 million has been committed for the transportation of foodstuffs and private voluntary contributions of supplies via surface and air routes for distributions in Federal areas and the Biafran zone. Of this amount, an estimated \$9 million is made available from a world-wide fund to cover ocean freight of U.S.-donated foodstuffs; this estimate is based on the average tonnage-cost of shipments made to date. Actual reimbursements made so far on foodstuffs shipped total about \$2.5 million. The approved amount for shipment of private contributions is \$1.5 million, of which over \$1 million has been spent. There is no precise accounting for the entirety of U.S. support for the airlift: funds and commodities come from more than one source and are utilized in conjunction with contributions from over 30 nations for relief on both sides of the conflict. The U.S. Government has specified \$1 million available for the airlift of U.S.-origin goods, and of this, close to \$800,000 has been expended.

Contributions to ICRC: \$18,970,000 has been contributed to the International Committee of the Red Cross, for relief operations on both sides of the conflict. This amount covers more than half the costs of ICRC coordination and conduct of relief assistance (including support of the ICRC airlift).

A.I.D. Mission support locally of voluntary agencies and A.I.D. relief activities has been programmed at \$324,600 of which \$167,600 has been expended.

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In capsule form:

<u>U.S. Contributions</u>	<u>Available</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>
U.S. donated foodstuffs (value)	\$29,645,300	\$ 12,800,000
Transportation (including surface and special airlift)	10,500,000	3,553,144
Contributions to ICRC	18,970,000	18,970,000
A.I.D. Mission Support of relief activities	324,600	167,600
	<u>\$59,439,900</u>	<u>\$ 35,490,744</u>
<u>U.S. Private Organizations (approx)</u>	<u>10,346,217</u>	<u>10,346,217</u>
<u>U.S. Public & Private Totals</u>	<u>\$69,786,117</u>	<u>\$ 45,836,961</u>

OTHER NATIONS' CONTRIBUTIONS

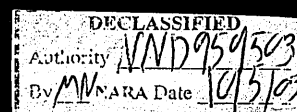
Over thirty nations other the United States had recorded by the end of March, \$74 million in private and public relief assistance to civilian victims on one or both sides in the Nigerian civil war. Their contributions, in cash and in-kind, (largely the later) have been channeled through the ICRC, voluntary agencies and UNICEF. (See Annex I.)

Western European nations contributed the bulk of this assistance, about \$71 million worth. An undetermined additional amount was provided the airlifts into the Biafran zone, which are operated by the ICRC and Joint Church Aid (JCA). Currently, the recorded major donor, other than the United States, is West Germany with a total of \$23.5 million.

A number of African nations have provided assistance on both sides of the conflict, generally through the same international relief organizations. Major known African donors are Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Madagascar and Tanzania. Their donations have been mostly cash from private sources, with some in-kind contributions of foodstuffs, textiles and clothing.

Not included in this overall count are nations adjacent to Nigeria, which have provided support and services in their own countries to relief operations: Dahomey, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Portuguese Guinea (Sao Tome). (ICRC airlifts are conducted from Cotonou, Dahomey and Fernando Po, Equatorial Guinea; JCA flights originate in Sao Tome, Portuguese Guinea.) Relief contributions have been made also by France and Algeria.

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THE RELIEF NEED

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ICRC estimates that as many as three million people on both sides of the conflict are being fed and provided other care. About two million in the Biafra zone and one million in the Federal area of Nigeria are receiving food assistance. As for the actual need -- it is greater; but how much greater than the numbers of civilians presently benefiting from relief assistance is an unknown factor. Estimates made earlier this year by ICRC indicated five million people in need -- three million in the Biafra zone and two million in the Federal war-affected areas. These turned out to be high estimates: from surveys in the past two months it became evident that there was a lesser need for imported foodstuffs among stable populations in the Federal affected areas, and that this was likely due to an increased supply of locally produced items. However, the effects of the recent (April) military action are not known. The likely result of such intensified action is an increased population dislocation and isolation of areas formerly reached either through local "normal" channels of supply or relief operations, and these are the peoples regarded as most needy.

There is no immediate problem of availability of emergency foodstuffs from foreign sources: only slightly more than half the U.S. availability has been called forward; stockpiles of food are sufficient (if kept rotating and protected in the rainy season) to last for some months; other donor nations are offering increased amounts of foodstuffs projected through next fall. Even locally produced foodstuffs have increased in availability during the past few months--although it is still below the pre-war level in the Federal war-affected areas and believed minimal compared to the need in the Biafra zone.

In addition, recent surveys show a high number of wild foods consumed in periods of shortages (although preferences vary from one place to the next); and certain crops, if their production were encouraged, could conceivably become a key source of protein and provide a higher caloric value per acre. Locally-known and acceptable foodstuffs, of course, are more compatible with eating habits, even though such foodstuffs as CSM (corn-soya-milk product) developed two years ago specifically to meet this criteria, are found acceptable.

In short, the principal block to expanded relief assistance is not one of food availability, nor the performance of relief agencies, which have been carrying out their responsibilities in a remarkably effective manner and have been increasing in their efficiency despite continuing hardships.

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It is clear from all reports that the civilians who are accessible to established relief centers are reasonably well-fed. It is also clear that people will help themselves as they can. This leaves a large and unknown number of people, many of whom on both sides are deep in "bush" areas or are forced to move as battle lines shift. Population dislocations, breakdown of transportation and communication links, loss of health and welfare services, are particularly severe in the areas of military operations.

Resolution of these problems requires improved logistics of in-country supply systems; adequate surveillance to determine food and health needs and identify the more critical areas of need quickly; even closer coordination of relief administration to facilitate more rapid response to changes in the requirements; expansion of the airlift or opening of a surface corridor to the Biafra zone--plus more active integration of rehabilitation programs with those of relief. Such efforts have begun; there is no doubt of their necessity.

Assessments of agricultural production are varied and sporadic for the Biafra zone. (All projections of relief food requirements are based on the assumption that persons receiving food rations are wholly dependent upon the relief centers.) With the reduced land area incorporated in the Biafran zone, population density alone has forced certain lands to be used for housing and relief care that might otherwise be used for food production. It has not been possible as yet to estimate overall production--nor the acreage believed to be newly cultivated, nor the amounts presumed brought in via clandestine trade routes through the lines, although the availability of food is generally believed to have increased by these means.

Outside the zone, although information is also somewhat fragmentary, there is a noticeable difference in the food requirements among those dependent upon relief centers. Although this is expected to alter with the rainy season and fluctuation of military action, the records showed a net decrease during March in imported foodstuffs required to maintain an adequate diet for those being served via the centers. This shift in requirements generally is believed due to the local production of foodstuffs, which has increased at a rapid pace, if unevenly, throughout the Federal area affected by the war. It is not believed due to any advancement in the transport or distribution of imported relief supplies.

Imminent Problems: A carbohydrate shortage has been predicted for the months of May through July. This shortage has not yet reached the dimensions predicted. However, the possibility remains of acute shortages which will affect relief needs.

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Another problem cited is that of the incidence of diseases created by overcrowding in relief centers and medical care facilities, unsanitary living conditions and lack of appropriate foods. However, disease currently afflicting the populations on both sides of the conflict, although not unknown to the area, are higher in incidence than in pre-war times. Among these are contagious disease such as tuberculosis, measles, smallpox, and malaria, which have a greater chance of spreading under present conditions; and the nutritional deficiency diseases of kwashiorkor, marasmus and anemia.

Medical/health care supplies, foodstuffs and vaccination campaigns have significantly reduced these problems (all but tuberculosis, and efforts are underway to assess and combat this disease where possible). The inoculation of over 1.4 million people against smallpox and more than 550,000 against measles in the Biafra zone, and the on-going vaccination program in the Federal areas has resulted in a noticeable reduction in the number of measles cases and there have been no new confirmed cases of smallpox in the past few weeks on either side.

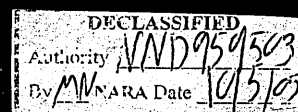
The Biafran Refugee Commission in January reported that dysentery was brought under control in relief camps in the latter half of 1968 with the institution of hygienic measures. The airlift, according to all observers, significantly reduced the problems associated with malnutrition, with a visible difference beginning in the fall of 1968 (due to the combination of an expanded airlift of high-protein foods complementing the locally available foodstuffs).

However, the situation changes radically with military action; and any drastic reduction in foodstuffs and medical supplies could easily reverse the progress made to date. Effects of these problems on the physical and mental health of the populations, their productivity and their ability to resume a normal pattern of living are far-reaching.

Relief and Rehabilitation Efforts: Authorities on both sides of the conflict recognize the interdependence of medical problems, malnutrition and economic hardships in the area. Unemployment and the resulting destitution mean that the food available on the market at high prices is out of reach of the people in the zone. The resulting malnutrition cuts down on productivity and this, in turn, means that less food is produced, repeating the cycle. Similarly, destitution leads to unsanitary living conditions, resulting in dysentery, water pollution and food poisoning.

Both sides in the conflict are concerned and are making attempts to break the vicious cycle. Several relief centers in the Federal areas have begun programs of assistance in agriculture, community development and education in nutrition and health. Schools have re-opened in many areas and people are being encouraged to resettle, resume normal activities and cultivate the lands. The result in the Federal areas is a slightly reduced

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food requirement for those formerly dependent upon the centers for subsistence. It is also creating a greater opportunity for relief personnel to improve health and medical care, concentrate on reconstructing hospitals and clinics and seek out those in need who have not been in touch with available assistance.

Limited versions of the same kind of self-help program are being started where possible in the Biafra zone. Requests for seed and agricultural tools are being received; some have been shipped in and programs begun. Education in nutrition and hygiene go along with most relief centers' operations. However, to launch a full-scale rehabilitation program would mean establishing airlift priorities. An estimated two million persons are dependent on the airlift for food and medical supplies. Any space allotted from plane cargoes for rehabilitation items would necessarily decrease those supplies.

WHAT IS BEING DONE?

Despite the bottlenecks in channeling foodstuffs and relief supplies into the Biafra zone, there has been no let-up in U.S. shipments of foodstuffs or provision of other kinds of support and assistance needed for the relief effort. Nor have any proposals been left unexplored for the solution of the bottlenecks in supply lines.

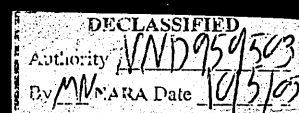
The fragility of the airlift, the principal supply route to Biafra and one which currently is restricted to night operations, or about 12 hours flying time, is a matter of continuing concern. April was a record month: flights averaged 25 per night carrying 277 tons of relief supplies into Uli airfield, or a total of 8,326 tons. The U.S. strato-freighter provided to the JCA and ICRC airlifts (four each) were carrying almost one-third the total tonnage. This is still short of the imported food requirements estimated by Special Coordinator Ferguson to be 500 tons minimum--provided there were no unusual developments in the agricultural situation (such as no carbohydrate shortage).

For the first half of May, the record has not been encouraging. The ICRC lost four crewmen and a DC-6 aircraft in a crash several miles from Uli airfield. Two nights later, the JCA airlift lost a U.S. stratofreighter after a crash landing at Uli. This plane is now being replaced. Combined airlift flights through May 13 were 311 carrying 3,536 tons, even though May 2, 4 and 5 recorded 37 flights each.

Moves have been made both to facilitate the airlift operation and to effect greater cooperation and coordination of relief efforts in general:

* On May 21, the new Special Coordinator of Nigeria Relief, C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr., announced \$6 million in supplementary financing of the ICRC to carry operations through August. An additional \$450,000 was earmarked for stockfish.

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* Cash support of flights by aircraft under other nations' charters has been increased: The U.S. Government is now reimbursing agencies for shipments of U.S. origin foodstuffs aboard aircraft other than the strato-freighters.

* Two landing craft contracted for by ICRC are on their way to Nigeria, to join five other coastal carriers in moving supplies from port areas inland via waterways that will not take deep-draft vessels.

* A meeting of the major voluntary agencies was called by the Special Coordinator for Nigerian Relief, in Washington to explore conditions and solutions to airlift, supplies, medical/health and other problems.

* Dr. Ferguson and members of his staff have made several trips to the field--to the Biafran zone and the Federal areas--as well as European capitals and other African countries--to meet with government and private leaders engaged in the relief effort.

* New surveys have been made and more are underway to assess the problem, and refine the assistance effort: determination of nutritional needs, agricultural production patterns, medical/health requirements, feasibility of assistance to programs of rehabilitation and special care for tubercular cases.

* The vaccine and support of a measles-smallpox program was launched in March and over one-and-a-half million persons were inoculated throughout the zone by mid-April. A noticeable reduction in measles cases follow the first 350,000 vaccinations of children, and no new recorded cases of smallpox have been cited.

* A survey of storage facilities prior to the rainy season produced a requirement for inflatable warehouses and acquisition of major facilities in the Federal areas and offshore locations. Stockpiles of goods change with requirements and distributions but report during April indicated about 19,000 tons were being stored at offshore locations for airlift to the Biafra zone and about 29,000 tons at several locations in the Federal area.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO NIGERIA RELIEF

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(Other Nations' Contributions)

Over 30 nations other than the United States had recorded by the end of March \$74 million in private and public relief assistance to the civilian victims of one or both sides in the Nigerian civil war. Their contributions, in cash and in-kind (largely the latter) have been channeled through the International Committee of the Red Cross (coordinating organization for relief operations on both sides), voluntary agencies and UNICEF.

Western European nations contributed the bulk of this assistance, about \$71 million. An undetermined additional amount was provided the airlifts into the Biafran zone, which are operated by the ICRC and Joint Church Aid (JCA). Currently, the recorded major donor outside the United States is West Germany, with a total of \$23.5 million. Not included in the overall count are nations nearby Nigeria which have provided support and services in their own countries to relief operations: Dahomey, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Portuguese Guinea. (ICRC airlifts are conducted from Cotonou, Dahomey and Fernando Po, Equatorial Guinea. JCA flights originate in Sao Tome, Portuguese Guinea).

A number of other African countries have made contributions to the relief effort on both sides of the conflict, generally through the same international relief organizations. Major known African donors are Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Madagascar and Tanzania. Their donations have been mostly cash from private sources, with some in-kind contributions of foodstuffs, textiles and clothing. Contributions have been made by France and Algeria.

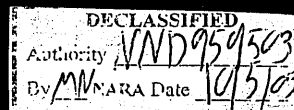
KNOWN CONTRIBUTIONS BY AFRICAN NATIONS
(in thousands of U.S. dollars)

	<u>Private</u>	<u>Public</u>	<u>Total</u>
Ethiopia	\$ 14.5	\$ 40.0	\$ 54.5
Ivory Coast	160.0	-	160.0
Liberia	.5	25.0	25.5
Madagascar	-	40.0	40.0
Tanzania	49.5	1.4	50.9
	<u>\$224.5</u>	<u>\$106.4</u>	<u>\$330.9</u>

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM OTHER MAJOR DONORS
(Value in millions, U.S. equivalent)

	<u>Private</u>	<u>Public</u>	<u>Total</u>
Federal Republic of Germany	\$ 13.5	\$ 10.0	\$ 23.5
Netherlands	4.4	5.3	9.7
Norway	1.9	7.5	9.4
United Kingdom	2.5	5.0	7.5
Switzerland	2.7	4.6	7.3
Sweden	4.1	1.7	5.8
Canada	.9	2.8	3.7
Denmark	.7	1.2	1.9
Ireland	1.4	.3	1.7
Subtotal:	<u>\$32.1</u>	<u>\$ 38.4</u>	<u>\$70.5</u>
All Other:	2.7	.8	3.5
Grand Total:	<u>\$34.8</u>	<u>\$39.2</u>	<u>\$74.0</u>

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ANNEX II

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NIGERIA RELIEF
(United States Public and Private Donations)

The United States has made available an estimated total of \$70 million and expended about \$47 million of that amount in support of all civilial victims who can be reached on both sides of the present conflict.

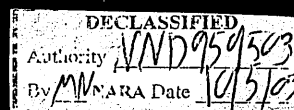
Public (U.S. Government) commitments total over \$60 million, with expenditures as of April 30 estimated at \$36 million. Private American voluntary agencies (24) report \$10.3 million in donations to the relief program, or about 15% of the total contributions made available.

<u>U.S. GOVERNMENT CONTRIBUTIONS</u>		<u>Expended</u>								
<u>Available</u>										
\$29,645,300	U.S. donated foodstuffs (CCC value)* distributed by voluntary agencies and UNICEF	\$ 12,800,000								
10,500,000	Transportation Costs:	3,553,144								
	<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="text-align: left;"><u>Available</u></th> <th style="text-align: right;"><u>Expended to Date</u></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>9 million - Ocean freight* of U.S. donated foods, estimate based on tonnage flow to date and reimbursements made to agencies</td> <td style="text-align: right;">2.5 million</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1.5 million - Reimbursements to voluntary agencies for shipping costs of privately-donated relief supplies.</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1 million</td> </tr> <tr> <td>(1 million - Airlift Support [to U11], included in above figures.</td> <td style="text-align: right;">.8 million)**</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	<u>Available</u>	<u>Expended to Date</u>	9 million - Ocean freight* of U.S. donated foods, estimate based on tonnage flow to date and reimbursements made to agencies	2.5 million	1.5 million - Reimbursements to voluntary agencies for shipping costs of privately-donated relief supplies.	1 million	(1 million - Airlift Support [to U11], included in above figures.	.8 million)**	
<u>Available</u>	<u>Expended to Date</u>									
9 million - Ocean freight* of U.S. donated foods, estimate based on tonnage flow to date and reimbursements made to agencies	2.5 million									
1.5 million - Reimbursements to voluntary agencies for shipping costs of privately-donated relief supplies.	1 million									
(1 million - Airlift Support [to U11], included in above figures.	.8 million)**									
18,970,000	Contributions to International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) - comprises more than half costs for coordinating relief assistance to both sides.	18,970,000								
324,600	A.I.D. Mission program support of voluntary agencies and A.I.D. relief activities.	167,600								
\$59,439,900		\$ 35,490,744								
10,346,217	<u>U.S. PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS (Approx)</u>	10,346,217								
\$69,786,117	Grand Total	Grand Total \$ 45,836,961								

* CCC refers to Commodity Credit Corporation of the U.S. Department of Agriculture which sets the cost to the U.S. Government for foodstuffs made available through A.I.D. for use in overseas programs. Ocean freight costs are paid from a USDA world-wide fund, accounted on a quarterly basis.

** Does not include funds from ICRC allocation used for operation of ICRC airlift.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO NIGERIA RELIEF

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(Airlift Operations)

April was a record month for completed flights and tonnages delivered by night into the Biafra zone of Eastern Nigeria: 772 flights carrying 8,326 tons of relief supplies. This was in spite of a fuel fire which grounded all flights from Sao Tome for four days. On April 29 alone, there were 40 successful flights carrying 440 tons into Uli airfield, making this a record night in a record month since the airlift began a year ago.

Joint Church Aid (JCA) operates an airlift from Sao Tome, Portuguese Guinea; the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) operates air bridges from Cotonou, Dahomey and Santa Isabel airport at Fernando Po, Equatorial Guinea. JCA began relief flights in April, 1968, and ICRC in September 1968. To the end of April 1969, they had a combined total of 3,827 flights carrying 37,790 tons of largely foodstuffs into the zone.

Supplies imported by air are immediately disbursed to relief centers (an estimated over 1,000) serving about two million civilian victims of the Nigeria conflict. Biafrans (many Red Cross), missionaries, voluntary and international agency personnel operate the centers, providing food, medical and other care. According to surveys, the airlift is largely responsible for the substantial decrease in malnutrition (particularly Kwashiorkor caused by a protein deficiency) and the noticeable reduced incidence of measles and smallpox.

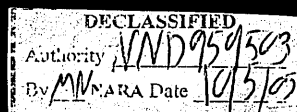
Whether this pattern of supply can be sustained in view of increasing wear and tear on the pilots, planes and facilities in the midst of an unstable situation and the onslaught of the rainy season, is yet to be seen. During the first few days of May, the JCA and ICRC fleets lost two aircraft in three days: an ICRC DC-6 aircraft crashed eight miles from Uli airport killing four crewmen (three Swedish and one German) and one of the JCA/USA stratofreighters, biggest of the planes in airbridge, crash landed at Uli field and was subsequently destroyed by military action. A replacement stratofreighter is being provided.

Given the April average of 25 flights per night carrying 277 tons, the amount of relief supplies is clearly short of the 800 tons per night that Biafran authorities estimate as the need within the zone. Foodstuffs supply is not the problem. There are currently more than sufficient supplies available at embarkation points and more on its way just from the United States. The problem is one of logistically improving the capability of the airlift and/or finding another way to transport relief supplies into the Biafra zone. Efforts are being made to affect a common area of agreement between Federal and Biafran authorities on opening a surface corridor to the zone or expanding the airlift.

U.S. Contributions

U.S. contributions to airlift are in several forms; budget support of the ICRC, through which U.S. relief assistance is channeled on both sides of the conflict; donation of U.S. foodstuffs via voluntary and international agencies (under

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Title II of Public Law 480); provision of eight stratofreighters (four each to the ICRC and to JCA at minimal cost); and costs of transportation of American public and private donations of relief supplies from the United States to Biafra. As expenditures and reimbursements are made from more than one bulk allocation for relief assistance on both sides of the conflict, and because such assistance is utilized in conjunction with contributions from over 30 other nations, there is no precise accounting of how much of the total is supporting the airlift. It is realized that the U.S. is the major food supplier, that the U.S. provided stratofreighters carried almost one-third the April tonnage, and that close to \$1 million has been used to reimburse stratofreighter flights and some charter-plane flights carrying U.S.-origin goods.

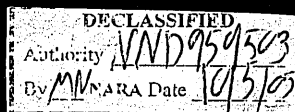
To date, 59,329 tons of foodstuffs have been received in ports for distribution to both sides in the conflict. These commodities carry a value of \$12.8 million, and their ocean transport alone was \$2.5 million. It is estimated that about 55% of the shipped foodstuffs went to the Federal ports and 45% to the embarkation points for airlift to the Biafran side. There were about 19,000 tons awaiting airlift at the latest report.

Composition and Capability of the Airlift

JCA and ICRC combined fleets are now 20 planes. This lowers the "optimum capability" of the airlift, which in April was determined to be 31 to 35 flights per night maximum on a sustained basis with 22 planes. However, the average for April was 26 flights per night, and this was an increase from 21 in March. Major problems have been sporadic military harassments, mechanical problems, weather, pilot and crew fatigue. Even under "normal" conditions, there are hazards and inadequate means of handling the imported cargoes: Planes must complete all flights at night, within a twelve hour period, flying minus lights and landing with the guidance of only one beacon and last-minute lighting of the airstrip at Uli airfield. Once on land, there are only six parking spaces available for relief planes; unloading is by hand and in complete darkness. Tonnage capabilities are limited by the need to carry return-flight fuel--and the need to carry in all supplies (such as gas, spare parts, etc.) necessary to keep the ground transport running to distribution centers. Unforeseen circumstances, such as the fuel fire at Sao Tome in late April which grounded the JCA flights for four days, can severely cut into the total tonnage.

The financing of the airlift is shared. Of the combined fleets of aircraft, eight are U.S. stratofreighters owned by JCA and ICRC; the rest are chartered planes from eight other countries, sponsored by government and/or private organizations (Canada, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland). The resources of ICRC and JCA (including U.S. support accounted above) keep the planes flying. A recent ICRC month's estimate on cost per plane of operation totalled \$950,000 for six planes: two stratofreighters, three DC-6's and a Transall, and \$50,000 in airport taxes and gasoline. Based on this account, the approximate cost of operation both ICRC and JCA aircraft is upwards of \$2.5 million per month.

0452



F782303-1037

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NIGERIA RELIEF

(Other Nation's Contributions)

New information has been received concerning other nations' contributions to the relief of victims of the Nigeria Civil War. A recent meeting at the Hague of several relief donor-nations revealed that current inputs were steadily rising and future cash and in-kind contributions were being planned.

Although the totals reflect changes known for only a few countries, these were sufficient to increase the total other-donor contribution from \$74 million recorded at the end of March to over \$78 million by July 1. By comparison, the United States' public and private commitments totaled \$62 million by the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1969.

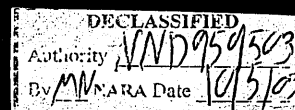
There is no significant change concerning donations from African Nations: as recorded in Annex I accompanying the special A.I.D. report "Relief to Victims of the Nigerian Civil War", African nations (Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mozambique, and Tanzania) had provided over \$330,000 mostly in cash to the relief efforts. The contributions from nations providing support and services within their own countries has not been quantified: Dahomey and Equatorial Guinea, from which the ICRC airlifts had been conducted; Portuguese Guinea (Sao Tome), from which JCA has been operating an airbridge; and Gabon, from which operate the airlifts of Africa Concern and the French Red Cross.

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM OTHER MAJOR DONORS
(in millions of U.S. dollars)

	<u>Private</u>	<u>Public</u>	<u>Total</u>
Federal Republic of Germany	\$ 13.5	\$ 10.0	\$ 23.5
Norway	3.8	9.5	13.3
Netherlands	4.4	5.3	9.7
United Kingdoms	2.5	5.0	7.5
Switzerland	2.7	4.6	7.3
Sweden	4.1	1.7	5.8
Canada	.9	2.8	3.7
Denmark	.7	1.2	1.9
Ireland	1.4	.3	1.7
Subtotal:	\$ 33.9	\$ 40.4	\$ 74.3
All Other:	2.5	1.3	3.8
Grand Total:	\$ 36.4	\$ 41.7	\$ 78.1

Nigeria Relief/Rehabilitation Operations
Agency for International Development

0453



F789903-1038

July 1 update

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NIGERIA RELIEF
(United States Public and Private Donations)

The United States had made available by the end of Fiscal Year 1969 an estimated total of \$75 million and expended about \$56 million of that amount in support of all civilian victims who can be reached on both sides of the present conflict.

Public (U.S. Government) commitments total over \$62³ million, with expenditures as of June 30 estimated at \$43 million. Private American voluntary agencies (24) report \$12 million in donations to the relief program, or about 16% of the total contributions made available.

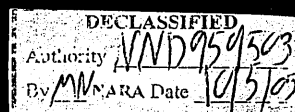
U.S. GOVERNMENT CONTRIBUTIONS

<u>Authorized/Made Available</u>		<u>Expended</u>
\$29,645,300	U.S. donated foodstuffs (CCC value)* distributed by voluntary agencies and UNICEF	\$16,341,200
11,900,000	Transportations Costs:	4,277,515
	<u>Authorized/Made Available</u>	<u>Expended to Date</u>
	9 million - Ocean freight* of U.S. donated foods, estimate based on tonnage flow to date and reimbursements made to agencies	3.2 million
	2.2 million - Reimbursements to voluntary agencies for shipping costs of privately-donated relief supplies.	1.1 million
	(Airlift Support included in above figures.)	1.2 million**
21,970,000	Contributions to International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) - comprises more than half costs for coordinating relief assistance to both sides.	21,970,000
326,355	A.I.D. Mission program support of voluntary agencies and A.I.D. relief activities.	322,194
\$ 63,141,655		\$42,910,909
12,103,513		12,103,513
\$ 75,245,168		\$55,014,422
	<u>U.S. PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS (Approx)</u>	
	Grand Total	Grand Total

- * CCC refers to Commodity Credit Corporation to the U.S. Department of Agriculture which sets the cost to the U.S. Government for foodstuffs made available through A.I.D. for use in overseas programs. Ocean freight costs are paid from a USDA world-wide fund, accounted on a quarterly basis.
- ** Does not include funds from ICRC allocation used for operations of ICRC airlift.

Nigeria Relief/Rehabilitation Operations
Agency for International Development

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146
JULY 15, 1969

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FOR THE PRESS

NO. 199

F780003-1039

TESTIMONY BY
THE HONORABLE ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON
UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON REFUGEES OF THE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE
5110 NEW SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
July 15, 1969 - 10:00 A.M., E.D.T.

Mr. Chairman:

I genuinely welcome the opportunity to discuss with this Committee the Nigerian civil war and the agonizing problems we are encountering in our efforts to aid the innocent victims of this conflict. I would value your advice on this matter, which is of such deep and common concern.

Let me begin by outlining what the difficulties are and what the United States has done to date to deal with them.

This Administration recognizes that we neither can nor should impose our own moral concepts on other nations. At the same time, we believe the United States has an obligation -- an obligation that is internationally recognized -- to seek to relieve human suffering in a conflict such as that now going on in Nigeria.

On February 22, President Nixon said: "I know that I speak for all Americans in expressing this nation's deep anguish... It is tragic enough to watch a military conflict between peoples who once lived together in peace and developing prosperity. But that tragedy has been compounded, and the conscience of the world engaged, by the starvation threatening millions of innocent civilians on both sides of the battle."

The United States has been at the forefront of the international relief effort ever since it began. We have played a central role in two respects:

-- Roughly one-half of all international relief contributions have come from the United States;

-- Secondly, over the past four and one-half months we have led a major diplomatic effort seeking to obtain the agreement of both sides on an expansion of international relief arrangements.

Specifically, since January 20, this Administration has taken the following steps:

-- New financial pledges have been made to the International Committee of the Red Cross in the amount of \$15 million. These pledges have brought total contributions since the beginning of the relief effort to \$75 million, including \$65 million from official and \$10 million from private sources.

-- Ambassador Ferguson was appointed as Special Relief Coordinator to direct all United States Government activities in this field and, most important, to make an all-out effort to negotiate new arrangements that would permit a more adequate flow of relief to victims on both sides of the battle line.

--Ambassador

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Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

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-2-

-- Ambassador Ferguson has sponsored extensive logistical surveys of possible relief routes into the Biafran enclave. The major result of these surveys has been the formulation of a new relief route proposal -- the so-called Cross River route through the port of Calabar north to Biafran controlled territory. We also assisted the ICRC in the chartering of two shallow draft vessels which could operate on the Cross River. Ambassador Ferguson has pursued vigorous diplomatic efforts to obtain the agreement of both sides to this corridor, which we regard as an effective and workable supplement to the airlift.

-- In addition, Ambassador Ferguson extensively explored with both sides the acceptability of other relief arrangements, including expansion of the airlift, the possibility of daylight flights, and the feasibility of land corridors.

Until recently, the international airlift by ICRC and Joint Church Aid had been effective in preventing a recurrence of last summer's mass starvation in the Biafran enclave. By the common agreement of observers visiting the area, the airlift helped substantially to meet minimum food requirements. However, the flow of supplies was never fully adequate. Medical surveys found a serious dietary imbalance, and thus a great danger of epidemics. Most tragically of all, the enclave's children were -- and remain -- dependent on shipments of protein rich foods to ward off crippling and ultimately fatal deficiencies.

It is often overlooked that a relief problem of almost comparable scope exists on the Federal side. There, too, the margin of survival is perilously slim. The international relief agencies report that they care for approximately one million people on the Federal side and between two and three million people in the Biafran enclave.

Such, then, is the stark outline of tragedy. Yet, despite our most energetic efforts, we were unable to obtain the agreement of the parties to an expansion of relief beyond the hazardous and sporadic night airlift which had been operating for more than a year into Biafra. Now even this airlift has been severely curtailed. The curtailment followed the shooting down of an ICRC aircraft by the Nigerian air force and a subsequent imposition by the Federal military government of strict new conditions on relief flights into the Biafran enclave.

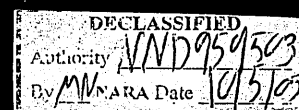
The ICRC has now suspended its airlift pending agreement by the two parties on flight arrangements. Religious and voluntary agencies have continued occasional flights despite these new restrictions. The flow of airborne relief into the enclave has been reduced by more than seventy-five per cent.

President Naville of the International Committee of the Red Cross flew to Lagos last weekend to explore with the Federal Military Government possible arrangements to resume the airlift. Negotiations are proceeding. Thus far, no specific agreement has been reached even with the Federal side. The Biafran authorities continue their long-standing objections to a daylight airlift under the conditions upon which the Federal Nigerian Government now insists.

At present, therefore, not only is there an impasse on negotiations for new arrangements; most of the fragile night time airlift has been lost as well.

What

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What are the obstacles to agreement?

There exists on the Federal side:

-- First, a concern that international relief has aided the Biafran war effort. For example, the Federal Military Government charges that the relief effort generates foreign exchange which the Biafrans use for the purchase of arms, that the night time airlift provides a cover for arms flights, and that food and medicine intended for civilians, are allocated to Biafran troops.

-- Second, a belief that starvation in the enclave is exaggerated by Biafran propaganda to enlist international sympathy and political support.

-- Third, popular pressures on the Federal Military Government, as the war drags on, to exercise the most stringent controls over international relief, regardless of the consequences.

There exists on the Biafran side:

-- First, a fear that Federal control over relief shipments would enable the Federal Military Government to regulate the flow and contents to serve its own political or military purposes;

-- Second, a professed fear that food passing through Federal territory might be poisoned.

-- Third, a belief that Biafran military security would be jeopardized by relief corridors, including daylight flights, that were not guaranteed by third parties.

As a result of all these factors, we have been unable to break the impasse. For example, although both sides had agreed in principle to the Cross River proposal and there are vessels now standing by in West African waters, neither of the parties has allowed the use of the route.

What is the U.S. now doing to cope with this situation? Our immediate objective is, of course, to restore the flow of relief into the Biafran enclave.

We have moved ahead with several urgent steps to pursue this goal. The Committee will appreciate, I know, that I am not at liberty to discuss all the details of our actions. However, I can outline some of them.

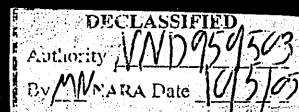
-- The United States is addressing appeals to all parties to agree promptly to resume the airlift and to implement the Cross River route.

-- We have approached the Secretary General regarding the role of the United Nations in resolution of the relief impasse.

-- We have just concluded intensive discussions on the Nigerian problem with Emperor Haile Selassie during his visit here last week. We shall continue the closest consultations with the Emperor; and through him, the Organization of African Unity.

--We

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-- We have exchanged views with the British and French Governments on the relief problem and asked their help in breaking the impasse.

-- Ambassador Ferguson will leave shortly after this Hearing on an urgent mission to Europe, where he will discuss relief problems with His Holiness, Pope Paul, with the Red Cross in Geneva, and with the French Government.

-- We are also in close touch with other concerned governments to coordinate our efforts.

We are under no illusions that there are quick and easy answers, however vigorously we pursue new initiatives. But this Administration remains committed, despite the obstacles, to do all it can to work with others and to encourage the two parties to save innocent lives.

I should stress once more that the focus of all these efforts is relief. I fully recognize the argument has been made that relief questions are inextricably bound to the political and military issues of the civil war. It is true that relief is haunted by the bitter passions of civil strife and the military demands of the two sides. It is true that the only lasting solution to the relief problem is an end to the war.

I shall not, therefore, beg the question of U.S. political involvement in the Nigerian civil war as a logical step in the relief effort. This Administration has faced that question directly, and I want to address the Committee with equal candor on that subject today. There are really two questions here: First, should we intervene in an effort to bring an end to the fighting and eventually to bring about some sort of political settlement? Second, would such a direct political initiative by the United States serve our immediate and urgent objective of restoring and even increasing relief?

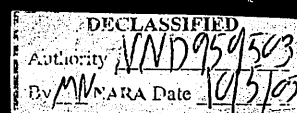
To be concise, a United States political initiative in the civil war must reckon immediately with several obdurate realities.

1. At present the two sides show no willingness to agree even on the context for political discussions, let alone terms of a possible settlement. The Federal Military Government has insisted adamantly on the principle of a unified Nigeria as the only basis for settlement. The Biafran authorities have rigidly refused to renounce their claim to independence as a basis for settlement. The Federal Government has insisted on negotiations prior to a ceasefire. The Biafrans have insisted on a ceasefire or truce prior to negotiations.

These positions rest on a hard truth -- both sides continue to believe that they can gain by fighting what they might lose by talking. There is, at present, no readiness to compromise. This is the reality that thwarted the most recent OAU mediation effort in Monrovia last April. This is the obstacle that has frustrated numerous unpublicized efforts by third parties.

2. The

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2. The United States has had to face the fact that we have no effective influence with either party to alter these realities. Our influence rests largely on the moral suasion of world opinion. Since both parties see their vital interests at stake, they subordinate the opinion of others to their own concerns and interests. We are not, as this Committee knows, a supplier of arms to either party. This Administration certainly does not intend to alter the arms embargo the United States wisely adopted at the onset of the conflict.

3. Finally, we labor under self-imposed limitations, which we believe have wide support in the U.S. Congress and among the American people. We do not intend to become militarily involved in this conflict.

Beyond this question of influence with the two sides, there are equally serious limits to our ability to influence other parties whose role would be crucial to the end of the conflict.

The British strongly support the Federal side. They have important political and economic interests at stake in Nigeria.

The Soviet Union supplies arms to the Federal side. This also constitutes a major political interest in the conflict.

On the other hand, governments which have given their support to the Biafran cause have done so as a matter of national policy. Thus far we see no sign that the policies of these nations will change, or that the United States could induce such change.

The United Nations has been unable to take up this problem because strong African opposition has precluded the introduction of the Nigerian civil war before the Security Council or the General Assembly.

Within this context, let me now discuss our views on certain specific proposals that have been put forward.

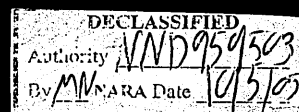
First, an arms embargo. The difficulties of obtaining agreement on this directly relate to the national policies I have just discussed. However, even if agreement could be obtained among major suppliers, an embargo would still be most difficult to enforce. The two parties could readily obtain arms on the international market -- as, in fact, they now do. Then, too, our sponsorship of an embargo would be regarded as hostile by at least one side and perhaps both, thereby undercutting whatever effectiveness we may now retain as a mediator on relief. Of course, we would not oppose an arms embargo if one were negotiated.

Four Power Talks. We must recognize that there are serious problems here. The day is past, Mr. Chairman, when outside powers can impose a peace or redraw the map for the people of Africa. Talks among non-African powers, in and of themselves, are not an answer to the problem.

This brings me to the ultimate political question which has been raised so often in criticism of our official posture toward the Nigerian civil war. Is our relief policy hostage to some deeper political commitment to the unity of Nigeria? And in the same vein, is United States recognition of an independent Biafra the answer to our dilemma?

Mr. Chairman,

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Mr. Chairman, this Administration has tried to consider every aspect of the Nigerian question.

Recognition of an independent Biafra is not a panacea, either for relief, an end to the war, or for the future stability of West Africa. We understand the concern of the Ibo people. We appreciate their insistence on guarantees for their personal safety, just as we appreciate the desire of the Federal Government to restore the high promise of a unified Nigeria. We have repeatedly urged the Federal Military Government to make a precise and unequivocal declaration of these guarantees.

Furthermore, recognition would have no tangible effect on the hostilities. To the contrary, it would only harden the positions of both sides, at the risk of rising Soviet influence in Federal Nigeria.

Whatever the course of the present fighting, an independent Biafra could be a source of recurring conflict. Within the territory claimed by the Biafrans there are numerous tribes with a history of hostility to the dominant Ibo tribe. It would be ironic indeed if we validated one claim for self-determination only to incite new and equally bitter irredentisms threatening the stability of the area.

This Administration, therefore, does not contemplate either support for or recognition of the secessionist authorities. We regard a peaceful and just reconciliation of Nigeria as in the best interests of Africa and all those, like the United States, who wish her well.

In summary, then, we plan to pursue urgent steps in two directions:

1. Our immediate concern is relief. This means a way must be found to reach agreement on daylight flights and the Cross River route. We shall do all we can to make this possible.
2. We shall give continuing support and encouragement to any efforts that might produce constructive talks between the two sides and an end to the fighting. We will be exploring possibilities with other concerned governments in the days and weeks ahead.

The Administration recognized that the Nigerian tragedy deeply concerns the Congress and the American public. We share this concern and we welcome every suggestion in the common interest of saving lives.

* * * * *

0460

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 954503
By	MNARA Date 10/5/05

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
XR SOC 3 RED CROSS 151884

42B

FOR OC/T USE ONLY

Origin ACTION: AMEMBASSY ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE PRIORITY IMMEDIATE 9 SEP 69 00 11 Z
Info: USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE PRIORITY IMMEDIATE

INFO: AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

151884

REF: GENEVA 3213, Istanbul 1344

STATE

~~XXXX DELIVERED XXX OPENING XXX BUSINESS.~~

1. Dept sees no objection to proposed statement Istanbul reftel.

In light concern expressed Geneva reftel we propose following language as substitute for proposed Geneva language, to be added to Amb Martin's statement: QUOTE ~~WHILE RE~~ While recognizing the legitimate security concerns of both parties we are confident that they appreciate the strong international support for prompt implementation of this program, including the safeguards provided in it. UNQUOTE

~~2. XXXX Sentence quoted above should be used only if in judgment~~

~~XXXXXXX of Amb Martin and XXXX will advise XXXX in dealing with~~

~~XXXX and also if at least some other governments are making~~

~~XXXXXXX concerning XXXX~~

Drafted by: AF/SN:WHBrubeck:smf Tal. Est. 21185 Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF - Ambassador Moore

Clearance:

IO/OES - Miss Jones

I U/CF - Ambassador Ferguson
S/P - Mr. Ruser

e.w.R.

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0461

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy ISTANBUL R IMMEDIATE PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

2. FOR GENEVA: Appreciate Biafran obsession with term QUOTE guarantees UNQUOTE but we prefer not to use language that they might consider as conceding their need for guarantee. In your discretion you may inform ICRC Geneva at September 9 meeting of statement we prepared authorize Ambassador ~~Marten~~ ^{Martin} to make in Istanbul, if ^{ICRC} ~~xx~~ feels it would be helpful, and ~~inform~~ if other governments likewise prepared to make statements as reasonably forthcoming as ours.
3. For Istanbul for Ambassador Martin: If addition proposed para 1 unacceptable for any reason, please advise Department or Geneva, ~~and~~ timing of delivery of statement should await Geneva report on results September 9 meeting.

0462



INDICATE:
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

Department of State *B* *151957*
TELEGRAM *07* *POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA*

9 SEP 69 15 58z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy COTONOU IMMEDIATE

STATE _____

REF: Cotonou 887 - *POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA*

1. Request you make low key inquiry of Sturzenegger concerning plans/prospects obtaining aircraft codes, if not already received from enclave. This question asked in light of press release in which Sturzenegger alleged to have said that relief flights to Biafra will resume Wednesday for a three week period and that five planes are ready for take-off at Cotonou.
2. Would appreciate immediate reply.

ROGERS

END

DRAFTED BY:
U/CF-DDawson

DRAFTING DATE
9/9/69

TEL. EXT.
29003

APPROVED BY:
U/CF-AEDewey

CLEARANCES:

AF/P - R. Perkins (phone)

AF/CW - W. Clarke (phone)

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

FORM FS-413
4-68

0463

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 950/503
By MN/ARA Date 10/3/05

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INDICATE:
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

UNCLASSIFIED *POC 27-9 BIAFRA*
 Classification *152390*
 Department of State *NIGERIA*
TELEGRAM

46
 9 SEP 69 21 43z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: USMission GENEVA

STATE _____

FOR GUTMAN FROM FERGUSON

1. In light latest information received here, ~~XXXXX~~ you ~~XXXXXXXX~~ can proceed essentially on schedule with departure exception that you postpone/to COB Tuesday sixteenth.

END

[ROGERS]

152390

DRAFTED BY:
 U/CF:AEDewey

DRAFTING DATE
 9/9/69

TEL. EXT.
 29476

APPROVED BY:
 U/CF:CCFerguson, Jr. *ccf*

CLEARANCES: AFR/CWA - Miss Wilson (Phone)

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

FORM FS-413
 4-68

0464

DECLASSIFIED
 Authority *VND 9503*
 By *MN* NARA Date *10/3/05*

14



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 955

PAGE 01 IBADAN 00272 091116Z

17
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, UCF 05, SR 01, ORM 03, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20,

USIA 12, UPW 01, RSR 01, /151 W

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R 090930Z SEP 69
FM AMCONSUL IBADAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 897
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL KADUNA

UNCLAS IBADAN 272

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN TRIBUNE CRITICIZES FMG FOR RELIEF FLIGHTS AGREEMENT

1. IN EDITORIAL HEADED "DANGEROUS CONCESSION" NIGERIAN TRIBUNE SEP 9 CRITICIZED FMG FOR YIELDING TO "SWISS PRESSURE" IN AGREEING TO RELIEF FLIGHTS DIRECT TO REBEL TERRITORY SUBJECT ONLY TO FMG RIGHT TO CALL DOWN PLANES. EDITORIAL BASED ON LEGUM STORY IN LONDON SUNDAY OBSERVER WHICH REPORTED UNDER HEADLINE "LAGOS DOVES HAVE THEIR WAY."

2. EDITORIAL NOTES OBSERVER ADMITS ORIGINAL FMG INSISTENCE ON INSPECTION IN NIGERIA "FULLY SUPPORTED BY GENEVA CONVENTION" AND SAYS FMG "OUGHT TO HAVE REFUSED TO BUDGE FROM ITS CORRECT STAND." RIGHT TO CALL DOWN PLANES NO CONCESSION SINCE FMG "IS IN POSITION

TO SHOOT DOWN SUCH PLANE." SUSPECTS THERE BOUND TO BE OUTCRY WHENEVER FMG ATTEMPTS EXERCISE RIGHT OF CALL-DOWN.

3. EDITORIAL SAYS DANGER IS AGREEMENT WILL PERMIT FLYING IN MORE ARMS AT NIGHT "THROUGH ASSISTANCE JOINT CHURCH AID," WHICH WILL BE ABLE INTENSIFY ITS ACTIVITIES.

4. EDITORIAL CONCLUDES THAT TOTAL AND EFFECTIVE BAN ON ALL RELIEF

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DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

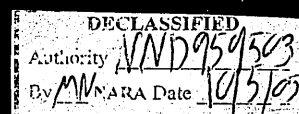
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PAGE 02 IBADAN 00272 091116Z

FLIGHTS IS ONLY MEANS "BRINGING OJUKWU TO HIS KNEES OR COMPELLING
PEOPLE HE IS STARVING TO REJECT HIS LEADERSHIP."
STRONG

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 218

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08110 091430Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, SS 20, INR 07, RSR 01, RSC 010, 061 W
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OPI 091350Z SEP 69
FMI AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO AMEMBASSY COTONOU IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8866
USMISSION GENEVA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 8110

1. PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING FROM BIGNAMI TO STRUZENEGGER:
CERTAINES INFORMATIONS QUI TRES PROBABLEMENT SONT PASSEES A
PRESSE PAR MILIEUX CICRI ET INALWA RESQUENT NOUS CREER DES
ENNUIS ICI. PRIERE S'ABSTENIR COMPLETEMENT DE DONNER N'IMPORTE
QUELLE INFORMATION.

UNIQUE CHOSE QUE NOUS POUVONS DIRE EST QUE CICRI ESPERE
POUVOIR REPENDRE LES VOLS DES QUE LES PARTIES
INTERESSEES LE PERMETTRONT ET QUE L'ON FAIT L'IMPOSSIBLE
POUR ETRE PRET LE MOMENT VENU.
NECESSITE DISCRETION NE SE REFERE PAS SEULEMENT A PRESSE
MAIS AUSSI AUTRES MILIEUX. BIGNAMI
OLSON
BT

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By MNA Date 10/3/05

(11)



SOC 3 RED CROSS
XRPOL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 ISTANB 01355 091800Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, SR 01, ORMI 03, AID 28, SCS 04,

SCA 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, UPW 01, 163 W
113276

R 091721Z SEP 69
FM AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1676
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ISTANBUL 1355

REF STATE 151554 - SOC 3 RED CROSS

MARTIN DEEPLY APPRECIATES AMBL FERGUSON'S CHARACTERISTIC
SELFLESSNESS, HOWEVER, WITH FINAL STEPS LEADING TO RESUMPTION
OF FLIGHTS HANGING ON BIAFRA ACCEPTANCE CENTERED ELSEWHERE THAN
ISTANBUL, HE BELIEVES POSSIBILITY OF UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION NOT RPT
NOT GREAT ENOUGH TO JUSTIFY HIS COMING HERE.
HECK

(2)

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08117 091941Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, ORM 03, SR 01, AID 28, UCF 05, UPW 01,

SCS 04, SCA 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 1169 W

118921

R 091513Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO USMISSION GENEVA
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 8870
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 8117

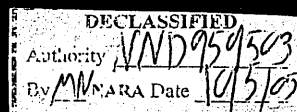
SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF - EMERGENCY DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REF: A) LAGOS 8110 (NOTAL) B) GENEVA 3220

IN LIGHT BIGNAMI'S INSTRUCTIONS TO STURZENEGGER
(ICRC COTONOU) TO REFRAIN FROM ALL STATEMENTS OTHER THAN
SIMPLE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT ICRC PREPARING FOR FLIGHTS
IN EVENT AGREEMENT REACHED (REFTEL A), IT APPEARS UNLIKELY
STURZENEGGER'S REPORTED STATEMENT CARRIED BY PRESS THAT
FLIGHTS WOULD BEGIN SEPT. 10 (REFTEL B) WAS AN ICRC TRIAL BALLOON.
GP-3
OLSON
BT

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 COTONO 00920 091831Z

42
ACTION UCF 05

INFO: OCT 01, AF 12, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20

AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, UPW 01, EUR 17, IO 13, RSR 01,

138 W

113538

O 091820Z SEPI 69
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2392

C O N F I D E N T I A L COTONOU 920

REF STATE 151957

STURZENEGGER SAYS HE HAS BEEN INFORMED AIRCRAFT CODES NO RPT
NO LONGER NECESSARY SINCE FLIGHTS WILL BE MADE IN DAYLIGHT.
ICRC DELIGHTED NOT RPT NOT TO HAVE TO USE CODES AS THEY CAME
TO COTONOU VIA LIBREVILLE WHICH TOOK 3-4 DAYS.
LOORAM
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03239 101139Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00,

SSO 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01

PRS 01, SS 20, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, UPW 01, RSR 01,

/151 W

118547

O 091030Z SEP 69 ZFF6

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2885

INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMEMBASSY COTONOU

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3239

SUBJ: NIGERIA

STATE FOR U/CF

1. BASSETT JUST CALLED (1100) TO ADVISE THAT HE HAS PHONED OBI (AS PREARRANGED WITH US). BASSETT REASSURED OBI ICRC WILL DEFRAY HIS TRAVEL EXPENSES AND OBI CONFIRMED HE WILL RETURN THIS P.M. TO GENEVA (ETA 1725).

2. OBI RAISED PROBLEM OF FMG TEXT PROVIDING NIGERIAN CONTROLS AT COTONOU WITHOUT PROVISION FOR BIAFRAN OR FRIENDLY REP. BASSETT RESPONDED PRINCIPAL MATTER WAS GET PLANES FLYING AND RELIEF INTO ENCLAVE.

3. BASSETT CONFIRMED THAT ICRC WILL START FLYING 24 HOURS AFTER LAGOS SIGNATURE RECEIVED AND HAS TOLD THIS TO BIAFRANS. TUBBY

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Ref 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 091654Z

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ACTION: AFI 18

INFO OCT 01, UCF 05, UPW 01, SCS 01, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 01, CIAE 00, JPM 04,

HI 01, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 04, P 02, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12,

RSR 01, AID 10, IO 03, EUR 08, 106 W

112885

R 091521Z SEP 69
FM USDAO/ABIDJAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC
DIA WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

CONFIDENTIAL ROUTINE 0448 SEP 69

STATE PASS TO DIA (DIACO-6) INFO DAKAR FOR REGIONAL CIVIL
AIR ATTACHE.

SUBJ: POSSIBLE BIAFRAN AIRLIFT AIRCRAFT.

1. ON 6 SEP 69 A L-1049 TYPE SUPER CONSTELLATION WAS NOTICED
AT THE IVORIAN AIR FORCE PARKING RAMP. IT HAD A RED STRIPE
ALONG THE SIDE OF THE FUSELAGE. TAIL NUMBER COULD NOT BE OBTAINED
WITHOUT ENTERING RESTRICTED AREA.

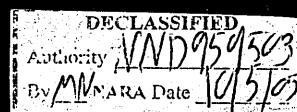
2. ON 7 SEP 69 A RED STRIPED L-1049 CONSTELLATION (PRESUMABLY
THE SAME AIRCRAFT) WAS OBSERVED PARKED IN FRONT OF THE CONTROL
TOWER. TAIL NUMBER WAS N7776C. ON THE NOSE OF THE AIRCRAFT WERE
PAINTED AMERICAN FLAGS WITH THE FIELDS REVERSED. A CHECK OF THE
SKIMPY RECORDS AVAILABLE INDICATED THAT IT HAD ALLEGEDLY DEPARTED
LIBREVILLE ON 3 SEP 69.

3. THE CONNIE DEPARTED ABIDJAN AT 1752Z, 7 SEP 69 FOR LISBON.
AT DEPARTURE A CAUCASIAN WAS OBSERVED IN THE LEFT SEAT AND IN
THE RIGHT SEAT WAS A NEGRO PILOT. AT DEPARTURE, THE PILOT OF
THE KINSHASA ATTACHE C-54 AIRCRAFT (PRESENTLY GROUNDED AT
ABIDJAN AWAITING A REPLACEMENT CARBURETOR) MADE RADIO CONTACT

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*Reference Dept. #
9/9/69*

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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WITH THE CONNIE ON THE PRETEXT OF ASKING IF THE CONNIE HAD A SPARE
C-54 CARBURETOR ABOARD. THE CREW MEMBER ANSWERING IN THE NEGATIVE
SPOKE VERY GOOD ENGLISH.

4. REQUEST ANY INFORMATION THAT ADDRESSEE POSTS MAY HAVE ON
THIS AIRCRAFT.
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Pal 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
YR Soc 3 Red Cross

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ACTION IO 15

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, NEA 13, EUR 17, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, HI 02, INR 07,

LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05,

UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, AID 28, RSR 01, 165 W

112960

R 091553Z SEP 69

FM USMISSION:USUN:NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8506

INFO USMISSION:GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY ISTANBUL

AMEMBASSY COTONOU

CONFIDENTIAL USUN 2933

SUB: JCA C-97 AIRCRAFT

1. IN MEETING NEW YORK SEP 8, NEWSOM GAVE BISHOP SWANSTROM AID LETTER CONFIRMING AVAILABILITY TWO ADDITIONAL C-97 AIRCRAFT FOR JCA. BISHOP ACCEPTED CONDITIONS THAT THERE BE NO PUBLICITY AND THAT NO MORE THAN FOUR C-97S BE STATIONED SAO TOME AT ANY ONE TIME.

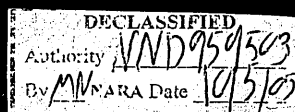
2. NEWSOM REPORTED CURRENT STATE ICRC-LAGOS NEGOTIATIONS ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS AND EXPRESSED HOPE BIAFRANS WOULD NOT RAISE NEW CONDITIONS AND THAT PLANES FROM COTONOU WOULD SOON BE FLOWN. IN RESPONSE SUGGESTION JCA MIGHT BRING THEIR FLIGHTS IN UNDER SOME ARRANGEMENT, BISHOP SAID JCA WOULD BE GUIDED BY OVERRIDING CONSIDERATION OF NEED FOR MAXIMUM RELIEF BIAFRAN AREA, BUT WOULD MARK PLANES SO THEY COULD JOIN DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS IF THIS FEASIBLE. HE OBVIOUSLY NOT PREPARED ABANDON NIGHT FLIGHTS.

3. BISHOP COMMENTED HE HAD INFORMED AMB FERGUSON OF JCA WILLINGNESS OPERATE ICRC C-97S IF ICRC FMG NEGOTIATIONS BROKE DOWN. NEWSOM REPLIED THAT DISPOSITION

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 USUN N 02933 091707Z

AIRCRAFT WOULD IN THIS CASE BE IN HANDS ICRC AND US HAD SOME INDICATIONS OTHER ORGANIZATIONS MIGHT BE PREPARED CONTINUE EFFORTS TOWARD DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS IF ICRC WITHDREW ICRC IN ACTION ON PLANES WOULD WE ASSUMED BE GUIDED BY FACT THEY WERE ORIGINALLY MADE AVAILABLE ON UNDERSTANDING THEY WOULD BE USED FOR HUMANITARIAN PURPOSES AND BY OUR REQUEST THEY NOT BE TURNED OVER TO ANY LIBREVILLE OPERATION WHERE CONFUSION WITH ARMS FLIGHTS POSSIBLE.

4. UNDERSTANDINGS WITH BISHOP SWANSTROM AIDED BY PRESENCE MONSIGNOR LANDY WHO HAD JUST RETURNED FROM LAGOS AND WAS ABLE PRESENT GRAPHICALLY SENSITIVITY FMG AS WELL AS CATHOLIC ELEMENTS NIGERIA RE JCA NIGHT FLIGHTS. IT WAS HE WHO ADVISED BISHOP TIME NOT PROPITIOUS FOR LATTER'S VISIT LAGOS IN ABSENCE CLEAR INVITATION FROM FMG GP-3.
YOST

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION: UCF 05

INFO: OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, NEA 13, O 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, UPW 00

SCA 01, SCS 04, SR 01, ORM 03, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, HI 02, INR 07,

LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, PI 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, AID 28, RSR 01

CCO 00, /151 W

113006

O P 091645Z SEP 69 ZFF4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2879
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3233

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/ICRC

REFERENCE: GENEVA 3219

STATE FOR: U/CF

WE JUST SPOKE TO BASSET (1700). HE TOLD US:

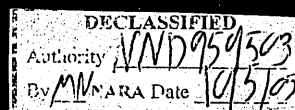
1. OBI WAS JOINED THIS A.M. BY DR. EKE (BIAFRAN MININFO).
2. BIAFRANS PROVED MOST DIFFICULT. OBI AGAIN RAISED IN DETAIL EVERY INSTANCE WHERE FMG WORDING DEVIATES FROM ORIGINAL ICRC VERSION. EKE STAYED OUT OF THIS PHASE OF DISCUSSION EXCEPT FOR STATING THAT THESE DETAILS "COULD BE ARRANGED SUBJECT TO A GUARANTEE STATEMENT."
3. BASSET WENT WITH EKE OVER VARIOUS FORMULATIONS THAT IN HIS

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9-960

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03233 091712Z

JUDGMENT REFLECTED LUNS GROUP POSITION. EKE'S BASIC CONCERN WAS FACT THAT INFRINGEMENT BY EITHER SIDE WOULD RESULT IN SANCTION AGAINST BIAFRA. HE THEREFORE REQUESTED WORDING TO EFFECT THAT "CONTINUED FLOW OF RELIEF WOULD BE GUARANTEED (IN CASE OF FMG INFRINGEMENT)." BASSET SAYS HE MADE CLEAR THAT STATEMENTS BY GOVERNMENTS WOULD NOT GO AS FAR AS "GUARANTEES." BIAFRANS ARE NOW SEEKING INSTRUCTIONS FROM OWERRI.

4. BASSET CONSIDERING TRYING CONTACT HOUPHOUET BOIGNY IN. HOPES HE MAY BE ABLE SCALE BIAFRAN CONDITIONS DOWN TO FACTS OF LIFE.

5. RE DEWEY/GUTMAN TELCON, BASSET ADVISED THAT BIAFRANS HAVE DROPPED ALL CODE REQUIREMENTS FOR DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS AND WILL RELY VISUAL IDENTIFICATION.

6. IN REPLY BASSET QUESTION RE STATUS US STATEMENT, WE ADVISED THAT WE WOULD HAVE EARLY REPLY FOR HIM.
TUBBY

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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POC 27-9 BIAFRA-
Department of State
NIGERIA **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, UPW 01, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03,

SCS 04, SCA 01, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20,

RSR 01, ISI W

112862

O R 091640Z SEPT 69 ZFFA

FMI USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2878

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY COTONOU

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 3232

SUBJECT NIGERIA/ICRC FLIGHTS

REFERENCE 1. ISTANBUL 1344; 2. STATE 151884; 3. LAGOS 8098;

4. GENEVA 3219; 5. TELCON BRUBECK/TUBBY SEPT. 9

STATE FOR U/CF

1. WE HAVE COMPARED STATEMENT PROPOSED REF. 1 WITH ADDITION
CONTAINED REF. 2) WITH LAGOS VERSION REF. 3 IN CONTEXT BIAFRAN
LATEST POSITION (REF. 4). BELIEVE THAT LAST SENTENCE LAGOS
VERSION COMES CLOSEST TO BIAFRAN PROPOSAL REF. 4, PARA. 1.
BELIEVE OPTIMUM STATEMENT WOULD CONSIST OF LAGOS VERSION WITH
SENTENCE PROPOSED REF. 2 INSERTED JUST PRIOR TO LAST SENTENCE
LAGOS VERSION, I.E. MELDING OF REFTELS 1 THROUGH 3, BUT
DELETION BALANCE SENTENCE AFTER WORD "ADVANTAGE" LAST SENTENCE
REF. 3.

2. BELIEVE TIME OF ESSENCE AND REMAIN CONVINCED BOTH

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OURSELVES AND ICRC WILL DERIVE MAXIMUM BENEFIT BY EARLIEST POSSIBLE STATEMENT.

3. SUGGEST THAT STATEMENT BE MADE SIMULTANEOUSLY BY ACTING SECRETARY AND US DEL. ISTANBUL.
TUBBY

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, AF 12, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01,

PRS 01, SS 20, UPW 01, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01,

/138 W

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O P 091130Z SEP 69 ZFF4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2865
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
INFO AMEMBASSY COTONOU PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 3219

CORRECTED COPY (PARA 6 LAST LINE)

SUBJ: NIGERIA/ICRC

REF: GENEVA 3212

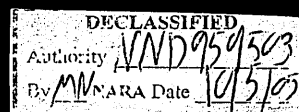
STATE FOR U/CF

AT 0900 ICRC MEETING BASSET GAVE REPORT RE HIS MEETING LAST
NIGHT WITH OBI:

1. QUITE EVIDENT BIAFRAN MINIMUM DEMANDS FAR EXCEED COMMITMENT
LEVEL TO WHICH LUNS GROUP REPS HAVE INDICATED POSSIBLE AGREEMENT
BY THEIR GOVERNMENTS. AFTER LENGTHY DISCUSSION OBI FORMULATED
FOLLOWING MINIMUM STATEMENT ALTHOUGH HE EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS
CONCERNING ITS ADEQUACY AND ACCEPTABILITY TO OWERRI WHICH HAS
YET TO PASS ON IT. "GOVERNMENT OF X EXPRESSES THE HOPE THAT
NEITHER OF PARTIES WILL TAKE ADVANTAGE FOR OTHER PURPOSES THAN
THEIR HUMANITARIAN OBJECTIVE OF THE RELIEF OPERATION WHICH HAS

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BEEN AGREED UPON. IT WOULD VIEW WITH GRAVE CONCERN ANY SUCH ACT." (BASSET RECOGNIZED VALIDITY CANADIAN REP'S CONCERN RE POSSIBLE FMG REACTION BUT HAD INTENTIONALLY REFRAINED INTRODUCING FURTHER COMPLICATING ELEMENT INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH OBI.)

2. OBI BROUGHT UP NUMEROUS OTHER POINTS RELATING TO WORDING IN WHICH FMG VERSION DEVIATED FROM ORIGINAL ICRC PROPOSAL. HOWEVER, BASSET STATED ICRC TOOK POSITION THAT BOTH PARTIES HAD AGREED TO INTERIM FLIGHT PLAN WITH BIAFRAN REQUEST FOR "GUARANTEE STATEMENT" BEING SUPPLEMENTAL ISSUE. ICRC COMMITTEE HAD APPROVED DAY FLIGHTS ON BASIS ACCEPTANCE BY BOTH PARTIES. FREYMOND HAD CONFIRMED THIS EARLY TODAY IN TELEPHONE CALL FROM ISTANBUL. ICRC CONSIDERED THAT RESIDUAL ALTHOUGH DETERMINING FACTOR RAISED BY BIAFRANS INVOLVED BASICALLY POLITICAL ISSUES ONLY INDIRECTLY CONNECTED WITH PROPOSED ICRC OPERATION.

3. BASSET WILL MEET AGAIN THIS FORENOON WITH OBI. IN RESPONSE TO DANISH REP'S QUERY, BASSET STATED THAT HE WOULD MAKE OBI UNDERSTAND THAT BURDEN FOR BREAKDOWN FLIGHT PROPOSAL WILL REST ON BIAFRA IF HIS AUTHORITIES CONTINUE INSIST ON "GUARANTEE STATEMENT" OF TYPE UNACCEPTABLE TO GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED.

4. VATICAN REP REFERRING TO ICRC/COTONOU ANNOUNCEMENT OF START FLIGHTS TOMORROW (SEE SEPTTEL) ASKED WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF BIAFRA TURNS DOWN "MINIMUM STATEMENT" (PARA. 1 ABOVE) AFTER DISAVOWING COTONOU STATEMENT (SEE SEPTTEL). BASSET WITH OBVIOUS DISCOMFITURE AND SOME FUDGINESS SAID "FREYMOND SAID THIS MORNING OVER PHONE THAT FLIGHTS WILL START." OBVIOUSLY ON HIS OWN, HE ADDED THAT THIS WILL HOLD TRUE UNLESS OBI TODAY WERE TO SAY "PLANES WILL BE REJECTED AT ULI."

5. BASSET INDICATED THAT FMG SIGNATURE MORE OR LESS ASSURED, THOUGH SLIGHTLY DELAYED DUE ABSENCE LEADING FIGURES. (REF LAGOS 8096) ANY PROLONGED DELAY IN SIGNING AGREEMENT WOULD BE CONSTRUED BY ICRC AS BAD FAITH ON PART FMG. IN THIS CONTEXT BASSET ALSO PLAYED DOWN IMPORTANCE THREE-WEEK LIMITATION POINTING OUT THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT SUSPEND FLIGHTS ONCE OPERATION HAD GONE ON SUCCESSFULLY FOR THREE WEEKS.

6. SEVERAL REPS SUGGESTED HOLDING QUESTION GOVERNMENTAL STATEMENTS IN ABEYANCE PENDING OUTCOME BASSET'S MEETING WITH OBI THIS A.M. US REP IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION TOLD BASSET USG EXPECTS

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MAKE STATEMENT WITHOUT GOING INTO GREAT DETAIL IN VIEW LAGOS 8098.

7. WE EXPECT HAVE FURTHER REPORT THIS AFTERNOON AFTER NEW CONTACT WITH BASSET.

8. MISSION UNCERTAIN WHETHER LIMDIS APPLICABLE THIS MESSAGE WHICH REPORTS MEETING ATTENDED BY REPS 13 COUNTRIES IN SETTING WHICH BARELY MEETS LOU CRITERIA.
TUBBY

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00,
NSC 10, PI 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, EUR 17, UCF 05, SR 01,
ORM 03, AID 28, RSR 01, 150 W

P 090949Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2864

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3218

FROM AMBASSADOR

SUBJ: BRUBECK TRIP

REF: STATE 151173

1. MISSION OFFICERS BE HAPPY SEE BRUBECK ALTHOUGH SHOULD POINT
OUT I, DCM AND TDY OFFICER DEALING WITH NIGERIA/BIAFRA WILL
LEAVE POST ON TRANSFER ORDERS BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 12 AND 15. THUS
MISSION MAY NOT BE IN BEST POSITION CONTRIBUTE NEW INFO TO
BRUBECK. RE UTILITY ICRC CONTACT, SUGGEST THIS BE DISCUSSED
WITH AMB. FERGUSON, NAVILLE AND FREYMOND HAVE TOLD US REPEATEDLY
ICRC WILL UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES BECOME INVOLVED IN PEACE
NEGOTIATIONS BUT WILL STICK STRICTLY TO HUMANITARIAN MANDATE IN
GC FRAMEWORK. ON PERSONAL BASIS THEY WILL, OF COURSE, BE
INTERESTED IN ANY NEW ELEMENTS SURFACING IN COURSE BRUBECK'S
TALKS IN LAGOS AND ADDIS, ESPECIALLY IF THEY AFFECT MAGNITUDE
AND LENGTH RELIEF EFFORT (PROVIDED ICRC STILL INVOLVED BY
THAT TIME). UNDERSTAND NAVILLE/FREYMOND ETA GENEVA FROM ISTANBUL
SEPTEMBER 18. DOUBT APPOINTMENT POSSIBLE BEFORE WEEK OF SEPTEMBER
22.
TUBBY

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-
Department of State
NIGERIA TELEGRAM

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, AF 12, IO 13, SS 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00

DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01,

PRS 01, SS 20, UPW 01, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01,

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O P 091130Z SEP 69 ZFF4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2865
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
INFO AMEMBASSY COTONOU PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 3219

SUBJ: NIGERIA/ICRC

REF: GENEVA 3212

STATE FOR U/CF

AT 0900 ICRC MEETING BASSET GAVE REPORT RE HIS MEETING LAST
NIGHT WITH OBI:

1. QUITE EVIDENT BIAFRAN MINIMUM DEMANDS FAR EXCEED COMMITMENT
LEVEL TO WHICH LUNS GROUP REPS HAVE INDICATED POSSIBLE AGREEMENT
BY THEIR GOVERNMENTS. AFTER LENGTHY DISCUSSION OBI FORMULATED
FOLLOWING MINIMUM STATEMENT ALTHOUGH HE EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS
CONCERNING ITS ADEQUACY AND ACCEPTABILITY TO OWERRI WHICH HAS
YET TO PASS ON IT. "GOVERNMENT OF X EXPRESSES THE HOPE THAT
NEITHER OF PARTIES WILL TAKE ADVANTAGE FOR OTHER PURPOSES THAN
THEIR HUMANITARIAN OBJECTIVE OF THE RELIEF OPERATION WHICH HAS
BEEN AGREED UPON. IT WOULD VIEW WITH GRAVE CONCERN ANY SUCH ACT."
(BASSET RECOGNIZED VALIDITY CANADIAN REPS CONCERN RE POSSIBLE

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FMG REACTION BUT HAD INTENTIONALLY REFRAINED INTRODUCING FURTHER COMPLICATING ELEMENT INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH OBI.)

2. OBI BROUGHT UP NUMEROUS OTHER POINTS RELATING TO WORDING IN WHICH FMG VERSION DEVIATED FROM ORIGINAL ICRC PROPOSAL. HOWEVER, BASSET STATED ICRC TOOK POSITION THAT BOTH PARTIES HAD AGREED TO INTERIM FLIGHT PLAN WITH BIAFRAN REQUEST FOR "GUARANTEE STATEMENT" BEING SUPPLEMENTAL ISSUE. ICRC COMMITTEE HAD APPROVED DAY FLIGHTS ON BASIS ACCEPTANCE BY BOTH PARTIES. FREYMOND HAD CONFIRMED THIS EARLY TODAY IN TELEPHONE CALL FROM ISTANBUL. ICRC CONSIDERED THAT RESIDUAL ALTHOUGH DETERMINING FACTOR RAISED BY BIAFRANS INVOLVED BASICALLY POLITICAL ISSUES ONLY INDIRECTLY CONNECTED WITH PROPOSED ICRC OPERATION.

3. BASSET WILL MEET AGAIN THIS FORENOON WITH OBI. IN RESPONSE TO DANISH REP'S QUERY, BASSET STATED THAT HE WOULD MAKE OBI UNDERSTAND THAT BURDEN FOR BREAKDOWN FLIGHT PROPOSAL WILL REST ON BIAFRA IF HIS AUTHORITIES CONTINUE INSIST ON "GUARANTEE STATEMENT" OF TYPE UNACCEPTABLE TO GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED.

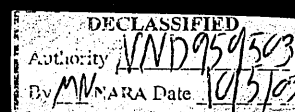
4. VATICAN REP REFERRING TO ICRC/COTONOU ANNOUNCEMENT OF START FLIGHTS TOMORROW (SEE SEPTEL) ASKED WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF BIAFRA TURNS DOWN "MINIMUM STATEMENT" (PARA. 1 ABOVE) AFTER DISAVOWING COTONOU STATEMENT (SEE SEPTEL). BASSET WITH OBVIOUS DISCOMFITURE AND SOME FUDGINESS SAID "FREYMOND SAID THIS MORNING OVER PHONE THAT FLIGHTS WILL START." OBVIOUSLY ON HIS OWN HE ADDED THAT THIS WILL HOLD TRUE UNLESS OBI TODAY WERE TO SAY "PLANES WILL BE REJECTED AT ULI."

5. BASSET INDICATED THAT FMG SIGNATURE MORE OR LESS ASSURED THOUGH SLIGHTLY DELAYED DUE ABSENCE LEADING FIGURES. (REF LAGOS 8096) ANY PROLONGED DELAY IN SIGNING AGREEMENT WOULD BE CONSTRUED BY ICRC AS BAD FAITH ON PART FMG. IN THIS CONTEXT BASSET ALSO PLAYED DOWN IMPORTANCE THREE-WEEK LIMITATION POINTING OUT THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT SUSPEND FLIGHTS ONCE OPERATION HAD GONE ON SUCCESSFULLY FOR THREE WEEKS.

6. SEVERAL REPS SUGGESTED HOLDING QUESTION GOVERNMENTAL STATEMENTS IN ABEYANCE PENDING OUTCOME BASSET'S MEETING WITH OBI THIS A.M. US REP IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION TOLD BASSET USG EXPECTS MAKE STATEMENT WITHOUT GOING INTO GREAT DETAIL IN VIEW LAGOS 8093.

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 03219 091217Z

UM WE EXPECT HAVE FURTHER REPORT THIS AFTERNOON AFTER NEW CONTACT WITH BASSET.

8. MISSION UNCERTAIN WHETHER LIMDIS APPLICABLE THIS MESSAGE WHICH REPORTS MEETING ATTENDED BY REPS 13 COUNTRIES IN SETTING WHICH BARELY MEETS LOU CRITERIA.
TUBBY

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, NEA 13, TO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00,

CIAE 00, DODEI 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03,

RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, UPW 01,

RSR 01, ISI W

0 091130Z SEP 69 ZFF-6
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2866
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USUN NEW YORK 3665

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 3220

STATE FOR U/CF

SUBJ: NIGERIA

REF: GENEVA 3219

1. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED: SWISS RADIO TODAY CARRIED EARLY A.M.
BROADCAST ON FLIGHT RESUMPTION WHICH ALSO APPEARED IN HEAVY
PRINT IN JOURNAL DE GENEVA AS REUTERS DESPATCH. INFORMAL
TRANSLATION READS AS FOLLOWS:

"MR. KARL STURZENEGGER, ICRC CHIEF DEL, STATED MONDAY IN
COTONOU THAT RELIEF FLIGHTS TO BIAFRA WILL RESUME WEDNESDAY FOR
THREE-WEEK PERIOD. SINCE CRASH OF ICRC PLANE, SHOT DOWN BY
NAF, A SINGLE DAYLIGHT FLIGHT COULD BE EFFECTED ON AUGUST 5.
STURZENEGGER ADDED THAT FIVE PLANES AT COTONOU ARE READY FOR
TAKEOFF. TEN THOUSAND TONS FOOD AND MEDICINES ARE AWAITING
TRANSPORT INTO BIAFRA. NIGERIA POSED CONDITION THAT ICRC FURNISH

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03220 091221Z

FULL INFO ON EVE EACH DEPARTURE RE PLANE MARKINGS, FLIGHT PLAN, AND CREW MANIFEST." END UNCLASSIFIED.

2. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL: SUBJECT WAS RAISED AT 0900. ICRC MEETING WITH LUNS GROUP REPS (SEE SEPTEL). BASSET STATED COTONOU HAD RECEIVED ORDERS ASSURE FLIGHT READINESS AS OF TOMORROW. ANY STATEMENT BEYOND THIS CONSTITUTES FLAGRANT MISINTERPRETATION BY SUBORDINATE EMPLOYEE (STURZENEGGER) AND STANDS REPUDIATED BY ICRC/GENEVA.

3. COMMENTS: IF BASSET WAS AS OUTRAGED AS HE SEEMED STURZENEGGER MAY WELL NUMBER TODAY AMONG COTONOU'S LESS CHEERFUL CITIZENS. HOWEVER, CANNOT EXCLUDE POSSIBILITY THAT ANNOUNCEMENT IS ICRC TRIAL BALLOON ESPECIALLY IN VIEW FREYMOND'S APPARENT DETERMINATION TO GET FLIGHTS GOING WITH FMG AGREEMENT AND IN ABSENCE OUTRIGHT BIAFRAN DECLARATION OF REJECTION (SEE SEPTEL).
TUBBY

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Member U/CF staff spoke with Fr. Whalen of Apostolic Delegate's office discussing with him Department's press announcements and inquiring whether Vatican intended also to comment upon ICRC Nigerian/Biafran agreement on daylight relief flights. Fr. Whalen stated his office will telegraph Vatican to inquire.

END

RICHARDSON

DRAFTED BY: U/CF-RADavidson *RD* DRAFTING DATE: 9/8/69 TEL. EXT. 29476 APPROVED BY: U/CF-~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ *RD* *CCF*
C. C. Ferguson, Jr.

CLEARANCES: EUR/AIS - CKJohnson *CT*

AF/SN - GBSherry *JS*

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, NEA 13, IO 13, EUR 17, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04,

UPW 01, UCF 05, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

JPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20,

EI 15, RSR 01, 172 W

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O P 081645Z SEP 69 ZFF4

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8856

AMCONGEN ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 8096

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF: ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

BIGNAMI (ICRC) REQUESTS FOLLOWING MESSAGE BE
PASSED BY ISTANBUL SOONEST TO NAVILLE (PRESIDENT
ICRC) AND BY GENEVA TO BASSETT:

BEGIN TEXT

SINCE CHIEF ENAHORO AND HEAD OF STATE ARE OUT
OF THE COUNTRY, HAVE NOT SUCCEEDED IN SIGNING
AGREEMENT ON RELIEF FLIGHTS BY ICRC. NEVERTHELESS
WE AGREED WITH MR. KOKU TO SPEED UP ARRANGEMENTS
SO THAT FLIGHTS MAY START AS SCHEDULED NEXT
WEDNESDAY. PLEASE WOULD YOU GET IN TOUCH WITH
ENAHORO M.E.A. AND SUGGEST BY CABLE CHIEF ENAHORO
IN ADDIS TO TAKE NECESSARY STEPS TO INITIATE
OPERATIONS. I FEEL IT IS IN THE BEST INTERESTS
OF FMG TO OBTAIN MAXIMUM CREDIT THROUGH AN EARLY
RESUMPTION OF OUR FLIGHTS. END TEXT

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, RSR 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, IO 13, UPW 01, UCF 05,

SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, LS 02, AID 28, 141 W
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P R 082115Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO AMEMBASSY COTONOU PRORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 8857

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 8097

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF, ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REF: COTONOU 914

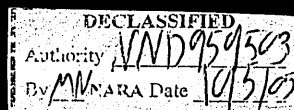
BIGNAMI (ICRC) REQUEST FOLLOWING BE DELIVERED URGENTLY TO
STRUZENEGGER (ICRC REP).

BEGIN TEXT: AVONS RECU VOTRE DERNIER CABLE DONNANT IMMATRI-
CULATIONS ET CARGONS AINSI QU'HORAIRE ENVOLS (STOP)
PRIERE NOUS DONNER HORAIRE RETOUR D'ULI ET HORAIRE 2EME ENVOL
SI FAISABLE VERS ULI DE COTOMKU (STOP) A TITRE PROVISoire
AI BESOIN AUSSI PROGRAMME 2EME JOUR. END TEXT
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28, ORM 03, SR 01,

CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07,

L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, SCS 04, SCA 01,

RSR 01, /157 W

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O P 082200Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8858
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 8098

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF: DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REF: ISTANBUL 1344; STATE 150764; GENEVA 3201

1. BIGNAMI (ICRC) APPEALED TO ME TODAY TO URGE USG ISSUE
SUPPORTING STATEMENT TO ICRC ACTION ON D
AYLIGHT FLIGHTS.

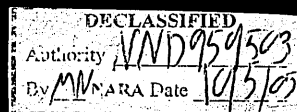
DIFFICULTY APPEARS LIE WITH BIAFRAN SIDE WHICH CONTINUING ASK
FOR INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES. AS APPARENT IN REFTELS, ICRC
HOPES FAIRLY VIGOROUS STATEMENTS BY NUMBER OF GOVERNMENTS WILL
CONSTITUTE SUFFICIENT SHOW OF INTEREST AS TO BRING REBELS ALONG
(READ BOX THEM IN). I SHOWED HIM THE STATEMENT PROPOSED REF
USTANBUL TEL AND HE EXPRESSED HOPE STATEMENT COULD BE
STRENGTHENED SOMEWHAT. I THEREFORE RESPECTFULLY SUGGEST
FOLLOWING REDRAFT. BELIEVE WOULD CARRY GREATER WEIGHT IF DEPART-
MENT --PREFERABLE THE SECRETARY-- WOULD ISSUE STATEMENT WHICH
COULD THEN BE PICKED UP AS BASIS OUR DELEGATIONS' STATEMENT
ISTANBUL AND PROVIDE LEAD FOR OTHER DELEGATIONS WHICH HOPEFULLY
WOULD FOLLOW E.G., LUNS GROUP.

2. BEGIN TEXT: ON BEHALF OF MY GOVERNMENT I WELCOME THE ICRC
ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH NOTED: "WITH SATISFACTION THAT THE PARTIES

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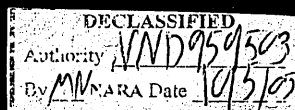
TO THE NIGERIAN CONFLICT HAVE GIVEN THEIR AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO THE INSTITUTION OF DAY FLIGHTS, WHICH WILL ENABLE THE RELIEF ACTION IN AID OF THE WAR VICTIMS TO BE RESUMED." WE STRONGLY HOPE THIS AGREEMENT WILL BE PUT INTO PRACTICAL EFFECT WITHOUT DELAY AND THAT BOTH PARTIES WILL DO THEIR UTMOST TO PERMIT AN IMMEDIATE COMMENCEMENT OF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS BY THE ICRC. THIS WILL GREATLY ASSIST IN CARRYING OUT THE ESSENTIAL WORK OF HELPING MEET THE FOOD AND MEDICAL NEEDS OF THE CIVILIAN VICTIMS OF THE CONFLICT IN BIAFRAN-HELD AREAS. I AM SURE THAT ALL GOVERNMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS PRESENTLY PARTICIPATING IN THE RED CROSS CONFERENCE IN ISTANBUL SHARE OUR CONCERN THAT THE PRACTICAL AND TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF THE AGREEMENT BE WORKED OUT PROMPTLY IN A WAY WHICH PERMITS THESE FLIGHTS TO BE RESUMED AND CONTINUED. AND I AM EQUALLY SURE THAT ALL SHARE OUR EXPECTATION THAT IN THE INTEREST OF MEETING URGENT RELIEF NEEDS NEITHER PARTY WILL SEEK MILITARY OR OTHER ADVANTAGE OR PLACE UNNECESSARY OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF THESE OPERATIONS. END TEXT

3. GENEVA'S 2113 RECEIVED AFTER ABOVE COMPLETED. PROPOSED MODIFICATION USES WORD "GUARENTEE" WHICH BIAFRANS HAVE WANTED BUT, OF COURSE, WITHOUT GIVING THEM THE SUBSTANCE. WHILE WE INCLINED AGREE THIS SUGGESTION, DEPT MAY WISH CONSIDER WHETHER USE OF WORD "GUARENTEE" MIGHT LEAD BIAFRANS TO ARGUE THAT ONLY WAY "GUARENTEE THESE FLIGHTS..." IS IN FACT TO DO SO. I STILL BELIEVE STATEMENT BE MORE EFFECTIVE IF ORIGINATED FROM WASHINGTON AS I HAVE SUGGESTED ABOVE.
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INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
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STATE

SUBJECT: Nigerian Relief

Posts should henceforth limit use special captions to ~~EXX~~ LIMDIS to maximum extent possible. EXDIS should be utilized only when absolutely necessary. ~~EXCESSIVE USE OF EXX CAPTION ON DIS EXPLANATORY~~

try x fix x causing x serious x problems x here.

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ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01 CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, /071 W
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O P 081130Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2851
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3204

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIA

STATE FOR U/CF

REF: GENEVA 3201-*M27-9*

1. JAGGI HAS NOW SUCCEEDED MAKE TELEPHONE CONTACT WITH OBI BUT HAS NOT REPEAT NOT YET DISCUSSED SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. OBI EXPECTED IN GENEVA THIS AFTERNOON.

2. JAGGI CONVINCED THAT ONLY CHANCE OBTAINING BIAFRAN AGREEMENT IS FIRM STATEMENTS FROM GOVERNMENTS IN SUPPORT ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHT EFFORT. ALTHOUGH HE IS NOT REPEAT NOT SURE THAT THIS WOULD MEET BIAFRAN REQUIREMENTS, HE IS SURE IN HIS OWN MIND THAT THIS IS ONLY SUBSTITUTE FOR "GUARANTEES" THAT BIAFRANS MAY BE WILLING ACCEPT. P.S. ICRC JUST CALLED MEETING FOR 1430. UNDERSTAND BASSETT INTENDS APPEAL TO LUNS GROUP REPS FOR SUPPORT EXPRESSIONS ALONG ABOVE LINES "TO KEEP ICRC EFFORT FROM COLLAPSING." AMBASSADOR'S COMMENT: TIME IS CLEARLY OF ESSENCE. I BELIEVE IF USG INTENDS MAKE STATEMENT AS REQUESTED BY ICRC, WE COULD REAP ADDITIONAL BENEFIT IN OUR OWN STANDING VIS-A-VIS ICRC (REGARDLESS OF FINAL OUTCOME FLIGHT SCHEME) BY MAKING STATEMENT PROMPTLY.

(1) TURKEY

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*Geneva 3204
9-8-69*

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Amconsul ISTANBUL

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Ref: Geneva 3212 - *pl 27-9 Bafra-Nigeria*

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END

RICHARDSON

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CLEARANCES: *[Signature]* 21530
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37.



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, SSO 00, NSCE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, DODE 00, 1071 W
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O R 081800Z SEP 69 ZFF4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2859
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3212

LIMDIS

SUBJECT NIGERIA/ICRC

REFERENCE (1) GENEVA 3129; (2) GENEVA 3187; (3) GENEVA 3204;
(4) STATE 150764

STATE FOR U/CF

1. SUMMARY: BIAFRANS HAVE RAISED SOME SORT OF INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE STATEMENT TO SINE QUA NON LEVEL. ICRC IS AGAIN REQUESTING FIRM GOVERNMENTAL SUPPORT STATEMENTS ALONG LINES DECLARATION SUGGESTED SEPTEMBER 1 (REFTEL 1, PARA 9). LENGTHY RAMBLING MEETING PRESIDED BY BASSET (ASSISTED BY JAGGI) BROUGHT OUT FOLLOWING.

2. IN SEPTEMBER 4 MEETING WITH ICRC COOKEY MADE SOME SORT OF GOVERNMENTAL/INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE SINE QUA NON CONDITION FOR BIAFRAN ACCEPTANCE (SEE REFTEL 2, PARA 5).

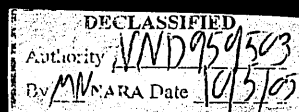
3. CONTRADICTING BASSET'S OPTIMISTIC STATEMENT THAT ONLY MINOR LINK MISSING TO ENABLE ACCEPTANCE BY BOTH SIDES, JAGGI BELIEVED CHANCES SLIM THAT BIAFRANS WILL SETTLE FOR LESS THAN COMPLETE REPEAT COMPLETE STATEMENT ALONG LINES REFTEL 1, PARA 9, I.E. INCLUDING THIRD PARAGRAPH. BASSET ADMITTED THAT THIS CONTRADICTED FREYMOND'S EARLIER ASSESSMENT (REFTEL 1, PARA 2).

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9-8-69

0498





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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03212 081843Z

4. BELGIAN REP ANNOUNCED GOB'S READINESS MAKE STATEMENT INCORPORATING ESSENTIALLY FIRST TWO PARAGRAPHS OF STATEMENT CONTAINED REFTEL 1. HOWEVER, GOB "CATEGORICALLY DECLINES" MAKE STATEMENT SUCH AS SUGGESTED IN THIRD PARAGRAPH.

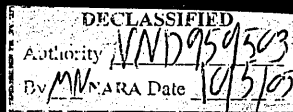
5. SCANDINAVIANS TOLD BASSET TO INFORM BIAFRANS POINT BLANK THAT THEIR GOVERNMENTS WOULD NOT GO BEYOND FIRST TWO PARAGRAPHS. BASSET AGREED WITH SPEAKERS THAT REFERENCE TO "NIGERIA AND BIAFRA" SHOULD BE REPLACED BY WORDING SUCH AS "BELLIGERENTS," "THE TWO PARTIES" OR SIMILAR.

6. BASSET'S IMPRECISION COUPLED WITH JAGGI'S NEGATIVE OUTLOOK PROVOKED MANY QUESTIONS BUT LITTLE NEW INFORMATION. FINAL RESULT WAS AGREEMENT TO MEET AGAIN SEPTEMBER 9 (TOMORROW) AT 0900. BASSET WILL MAKE REPORT TO GROUP RE HIS MEETING WITH "BIAFRANS" (ACTUALLY ONLY OBI) TONIGHT AND ALSO HOPES INFORM GROUP THAT BIGNAMI WAS ABLE SIGN AGREEMENT TODAY WITH FMG IN LAGOS. FOLLOWING REPS ATTENDED MEETING: SWEDEN, DENMARK, NORWAY, FINLAND, THE VATICAN, IRELAND, GERMANY, BELGIUM, THE NETHERLANDS, CANADA, U.S. (GUTMAN) ITALY AND THE UN.

7. COMMENTS IN CORRIDOR DISCUSSION, WE GAINED IMPRESSION THAT MOST REPS WANT TO AWAIT RESULTS OF TONIGHT'S ICRC MEETING WITH BIAFRANS BEFORE CABLING FIRM RECOMMENDATION RE SUPPORTING STATEMENT. HOWEVER, BELIEVE MOST ARE WILLING TO RECOMMEND MODIFIED STATEMENT BY THEIR GOVERNMENTS MORE OR LESS ALONG LINES FIRST TWO PARAGRAPHS CONTAINED REFTEL 1, PARA. 9. SOME SEEM TO BE THINKING IN TERMS OF STATEMENT ADDRESSED TO RED CROSS FOR USE AS ORGANIZATION SEES FIT, OTHERS (I.E. REED/NORWAY) THOUGHT FONMIN MIGHT MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT. IN VIEW STRONG USG ASSURANCES, TO NAVILLE CONTAINED REFTEL 4, BELIEVE WE SHOULD CONSIDER MAKING STATEMENT GOING BEYOND DEPARTMENT'S AUGUST 4 PRESS BRIEF (STATE 150212). AS INDICATED REFTEL 3 FROM GENEVA PRESPECTIVE SUCH STATEMENT IN DIRECT SUPPORT OF ICRC WOULD SEEM ADVANTAGEOUS FOR THE RECORD EVEN IF IT FALL SHORT OF WHATEVER BIAFRAN MINIMUM TERMS MAY BE ESTABLISHED IN TONIGHT'S BASSET/OBI MEETING. POSITIVE USG STATEMENT AT TOMORROW'S MEETING WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE MUCH APPRECIATED BY ICRC AND WOULD PROBABLY CAUSE OTHER COUNTRIES TO FOLLOW QUICKLY WITH STATEMENTS THEIR OWN.
TUBBY

NOTE: LIMDIS CAPTION INSERTED PER INSTRUCTIONS MR. MARSH SS-O.
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Principals and "S" Area

ES 1
S 1
U 1
J 1
D 1
C 1
S/PC 2

S/CPR 1
S/FW 1
S/GOV 1
S/IL 1

S/PM 1
S/R 1
U/CF X
U/PW 1
J/PM 1
D/WP 1
U/UCS 1

Geographic

AF 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

Functional

CU 1
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INR 6
IO 4
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SCA 1
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SCI 1

Other

WH 10
VP 1
DOD P
CIA P
USIA 4
PC P

Other

ACDA 5
AID 12

TRSY 6
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EXIM 1
BOB 1
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TAR 1
WHRE 1

AGR 3

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AEC 3

NASA 1

JUS 1

FBI 1

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TELEGRAM *KE ORG 7 U/CF*

8 SEP 69 21 28 z

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ACTION: Amconsul ISTANBUL

INFO: USMission GENEVA
 Amembassy LONDON
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1. Amb. Ferguson returned Dept. Sat. Sept. 6 suffering acute exhaustion. In view of condition Amb. regrets cannot meet scheduled commitment Sept. 9-13. He has indicated that if in judgment of Amb. Martin, Ferguson can make unique contribution ICRC Daylight Flight problem, he (Amb. Ferguson) willing make effort get to Istanbul nonetheless.

END

RICHARDSON

DRAFTED BY: U/CF: CC Ferguson, Jr. *CCF* DRAFTING DATE: 9/8/69 TEL. EXT.: 29624 APPROVED BY: U/CF: CC Ferguson, Jr. *CCF*

CLEARANCES:

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
XR SOC 3 RED CROSS
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 608

PAGE 01 ISTANB 01344 081559Z

44
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04,

UPW 01, UCF 05, CCO 00, SSD 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20,

RSR 01, /157 W

105008

O 081524Z SEP 69 ZFF-3
FM AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1670
INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

C O N F I D E N T I A L ISTANBUL 1344

SUBJ: NIGERIA

REFS: (A) STATE 150764, (B) GENEVA 3201

1. COPY OF DEPT. STATEMENT PASSED TO NAVILLE BY SIEVERTS
SEPT 6 WITH COMMENTS AS PER REF A.

2. IN HIS REMARKS TO FIRST WORKING SESSION OF RED CROSS

CONFERENCE, NAVILLE SAID: "THE AIRLIFT HAS UNFORTUNATELY
STOPPED DUE TO LACK OF AGREEMENT BY BOTH SIDES. WE HAVE HIGH
HOPES TO RESUME SHORTLY, BOTH SIDES HAVING AGREED IN PRINCIPLE.
WE HOPE NO LAST MINUTE DIFFICULTIES WILL MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR
THIS HUMANITARIAN WORK TO BE RESUMED."

3. ONLY OTHER COMMENT THUS FAR ON NIGERIA SITUATION WAS BRIEF,
MODERATE STATEMENT BY DR. ADEMOLA, CHIEF OF NIGERIAN RED CROSS
DELEGATION, WHO OBJECTED TO THE ICRC'S AND NAVILLE'S CONTINUING
USE OF TERM "BIAFRA," POINTING OUT THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAS
REPEATEDLY MADE KNOWN ITS OBJECTION TO THIS DESIGNATION. ADEMOLA
WENT ON TO THANK ICRC FOR ITS "GIGANTIC WORK IN NIGERIA,"

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9-8-69
Istanbul 1344

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 ISTANB 01344 081559Z

INCLUDING THE AREA THAT IS CALLED BIAFRA." HE WELCOMED "AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE" ON RESUMPTION OF RELIEF FLIGHTS AND ADDED "ICRC WILL SOON TRANSFER ITS RELIEF ACTIVITIES TO NRC, AS REQUESTED BY FMG." HE HOPED THAT ICRC WOULD CONTINUE "TRADITIONAL ACTIVITIES IN NIGERIA," PRESUMABLY MEANING PROTECTION OF POW'S AND OTHER TRADITIONAL ICRC FUNCTIONS UNDER GENEVA CONVENTIONS.

4. AT LUNCH SEPT 8 NAVILLE AND FREYMOND PRESSED AMB MARTIN AND SIEVERTS FOR FURTHER U.S. STATEMENT FOR ICRC TO USE WITH BOTH SIDES, AS ENVISAGED (REF B). WHILE MARTIN GAVE NO COMMITMENT, AND WHILE WE ARE NOT CLEAR THAT ADDITIONAL U.S. STATEMENT WILL MAKE MUCH DIFFERENCE, APPEARS TO US WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO MAKE STATEMENT AS REQUESTED.

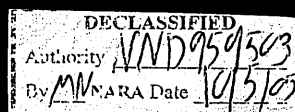
5. UNLESS DEPT PERCEIVES OBJECTION, WE WILL PLAN TO MAKE STATEMENT AT APPROPRIATE TIME IN GENERAL COMMISSION OR PLENARY SESSION AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT:

ON BEHALF OF MY GOVERNMENT I WELCOME THE ICRC ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH NOTED: "WITH SATISFACTION THAT THE PARTIES TO THE NIGERIA CONFLICT HAVE GIVEN THEIR AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO THE INSTITUTION OF DAY FLIGHTS, WHICH WILL ENABLE THE RELIEF ACTION IN AID OF THE WAR VICTIMS TO BE RESUMED." WE STRONGLY HOPE THIS AGREEMENT WILL BE PUT INTO PRACTICAL EFFECT WITHOUT DELAY SO THAT THE FLIGHTS CAN AGAIN CARRY OUT THE ESSENTIAL WORK OF HELPING MEET THE FOOD AND MEDICAL NEEDS OF THE CIVILIAN VICTIMS OF THE CONFLICT IN BIAFRAN-HELP AREAS. I AM SURE THIS CONFERENCE SHARES OUR CONCERN THAT THE PRACTICAL AND TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF THE AGREEMENT BE WORKED OUT PROMPTLY IN A WAY WHICH PERMITS THESE FLIGHTS TO BE RESUMED AND CONTINUED.

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**
XR DEF 12-5 BIAFRA

CONFIDENTIAL 715

PAGE 01 LIBREV 00919 081726Z

52
ACTION AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, SR 01, ORM 03, MC 02,

UPW 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, IO 13, EUR 17, AID 28, RSR 01, 158 W

..... 105386

R 081630Z SEPI 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2801

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 979

CITE: SICR-DCDB Z1909 (DIA)

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN AIRLIFT

1. PRESUMED ARMS FLIGHTS SINCE SEPTEMBER 2:

DC-4 F-BBDD NIGHTS: SEPTEMBER 2-3, 3-4, 5-6, 6-7, AND 7-8;

DC-7 TR-LOK NIGHT: SEPTEMBER 2-3.

2. PRESUMED RELIEF FLIGHTS SINCE SEPTEMBER 2:

DC-4 F-BRAP NIGHTS: SEPTEMBER 4-5, 5-6, 6-7 AND 7-8;

DC-6 OO-HEX NIGHTS: SEPTEMBER 2-3, 3-4, 4-5, 5-6, AND 6-7.

3. DC-4 F-BRHE, LAST SEEN HERE JULY 2, ARRIVED SEPTEMBER 3.
ACCORDING TO FRENCH MILITARY ATTACHE, COL MERLE, THIS PLANE
TO REPLACE DC-4 F-BRHQ WHICH RETURNED TO FRANCE SEPTEMBER 5
FOR MUCH-NEEDED MAINTENANCE.

4. DC-7 TR-LIK DEPARTED NIGHT SEPTEMBER 3-4, RETURNED NIGHT
SEPTEMBER 5-6 AND DEPARTED AGAIN DURING DAYLIGHT HOURS
SEPTEMBER 6.
FUNKHOUSER

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Libreville 919

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DEF 12-5 Biafra
XR POL 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
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PAGE 01 MONROV 04054 081808Z

51
ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03,

AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, E 15, DOT 12, RSR 01, 183 W
106862

R 081703Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7580

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REF: STATE 147421 — DEF 12-5 Biafra
XR POL 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria

SUBJ: C-97 ACFT ENGINES

SUBJECT ENGINES LEFT MONROVIA SEP 7 ABOARD S/S LISABON.

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ORG 7 AF/SN
POL 27-93 AFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 997

PAGE 01 PARIS 13549 082046Z

85
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, UCF 05, SS 20, NSC 10, RSRI 01, RSC 01, 1073 W
106589

R 081923Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6855

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 13549

SUBJ: NIGERIA: BRUBECK TRIP

REF: STATE 151173

1. EMBASSY WELCOMES BRUBECK VISIT PARIS DURING WEEK SEPTEMBER
21-27 AS PROJECTED REFTEL.

2. SINCE AMBASSADOR FERGUSON HAS BEEN REGULAR RECENT VISITOR
AND HAS HAD SEVERAL MEETINGS AT HIGH LEVELS IN QUAI, WE WOULD
PLAN PLAY BRUBECK VISIT IN RELATIVELY LOW KEY IN ORDER KEEP
FOCUS HERE ON FERGUSON'S RELIEF EFFORTS AND AVOID RAISING
QUESTIONS ABOUT POSSIBLE CHANGE IN U. S. POLICY AND EMPHASIS.
THUS, IF DEPT AGREES, WE WOULD PROPOSE ARRANGE CALL AT QUAI
AT LEVEL DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA/MIDEAST (LEBEL) RATHER THAN MINISTER
OR SECRETARY GENERAL ON WHOM FERGUSON HAS CALLED.

3. WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT CONFIRMATION THAT THIS APPROACH
ACCEPTABLE SO WE WILL BE ABLE TAKE PROMPT ACTION WHEN DATE
BRUBECK VISIT FIRM. GP-3.
BLAKE

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PARIS 13549
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POL 27-93 AFRA-NIGERIA
William Brubeck

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ROL 27-9 BIAFRA-
Department of State
NIGERIA TELEGRAM

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91
ACTION: AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00

JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 00

USIA 12, RSR 01, 150 W

106379

R 081550Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4416Y
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL THE HAGUE 3410

SUBJECT: NIGERIA -- BRUBECKI TRIP

REF: STATE 151173

VISIT TO THE HAGUE LATE SEPTEMBER BY BRUBECKI WOULD BE
TIMELY. GON WILL HAVE NIGERIA MUCH ON ITS MIND SINCE
CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION EXPECTED TO BE DEVOTED TO IT IN
PARLIAMENT'S ANNUAL GENERAL DEBATE EARLY IN OCTOBER, AND
OFFICIALS HERE WILL BE INTERESTED IN REPORT ON BRUBECK'S
TALKS IN LAGOS AND ADDIS.

GP-4.
MIDDENDORF

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 KADUNA 00869 081648Z

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ACTION AF 78

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03,

AID 28, SCSE 00, SCA 01, UPW 01, UCF 05, RSR 01, 152 W
----- 105114

R 080714Z SEP 69
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1301
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMCONSUL IBADAN

UNCLAS KADUNA 0869

SUBJECT: NEW NIGERIAN CRITICIZES FMG FOR RELIEF FLIGHTS AGREEMENT

IN EDITORIAL APPARENTLY BASED ON MISCONCEPTION, SEPT. 6 NEW NIGERIAN CRITICIZES FMG FOR "SUCCUMBING TO MACHINATIONS OF ICRC" IN AGREEING TO ICRC PLAN FOR RELIEF FLIGHTS RATHER THAN STICKING TO FMG'S ORIGINAL DEMAND FOR DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS WITH INSPECTION IN NIGERIA. NEW NIGERIAN STATES THAT AGREEMENT CALLS FOR FMG INSPECTION OF FLIGHTS IN LAGOS AFTER WHICH PLANES "COULD GO BACK TO ICRC BASES BEFORE FLYING TO REBEL HELD AREAS". BY ICRC BASES EDITORIAL PRESUMABLY MEANS POINTS OUTSIDE NIGERIA. EDITORIAL DOES NOT REFER TO FMG INSPECTION OF PLANES IN COTONOU. EDITORIAL CONCLUDES THAT "THIS AMOUNTS TO NEUTRALIZATION OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S FIRMNESS IN THE PAST FEW MONTHS. IF THE PLAN COMES INTO OPERATION, FMG HAS NO MEANS OF CHECKING THAT RELIEF FLIGHTS ARE NOT BEING USED FOR GUN-RUNNING. IN ADDITION WE LOSE THE MORAL RIGHT TO SHOOT DOWN PLANES ENGAGED IN AIDING REBELS BUT COMOUFLAGED AS RELIEF PLANES."
STEPHAN
BT

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Authority VND959503
By MNA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03,

RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, UPW 01, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01,

RSR 01, /151 W

105900

O R 081805Z SEP 69 ZFF4

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2860

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3213

SUBJECT NIGERIA

REFERENCE 1. ISTANBUL 1344

2. GENEVA 3212

STATE FOR U/CF

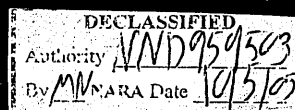
1. IN VIEW ICRC STATEMENTS MADE THIS AFTERNOON (REF 2), ESPECIALLY IMPRESSION CONVEYED BY JAGGI (ICRC DELEGATE FOR BIAFRA), THAT BIAFRANS OBSESSED BY TERM "GUARANTEES," SUGGEST CONSIDERATION FOLLOWING MODIFICATION LAST SENTENCE REF 1, PARA 5: "I AM SURE THIS CONFERENCE SHARES THE CONCERN OF THE USG THAT PRACTICAL AND TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF AGREEMENT BE WORKED OUT PROMPTLY IN A WAY WHICH WILL GUARANTEE THESE FLIGHTS TO BE RESUMED AND CONTINUED WHILE SAFEGUARDING THE RIGHTS OF ALL CONCERNED."

2. GIVEN ICRC'S TIGHT TIMING WE BELIEVE USG STATEMENT SHOULD BE MADE SOONEST IN ORDER GIVE ICRC MAXIMUM LEVERAGE IN ITS FINAL GENEVA TALKS WITH BIAFRANS.
TUBBY

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Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 810

PAGE 01 PARIS 13501 071020Z

11

ACTION SS: 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, /071 W
 099959

O 071005Z SEP 69

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6839

INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 13501

LIMDIS

REF: STATE 151172

FOR ACTING SECRETARY FROM CHARGE

1. FOREIGN MINISTER SCHUMANN HAS BEEN ILL FOR SEVERAL DAYS. SO I CONTACTED QUAI DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AND MIDEAST CLAUDE LEBEL EARLY THIS MORNING, SINCE ALPHAND NOT AVAILABLE. I GAVE HIM YOUR MESSAGE AND ASKED HIM TO PASS IT ON TO SCHUMANN SOONEST, ALONG WITH YOUR WISHES FOR THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S QUICK RECOVERY.

2. LEBEL SAID (A) FRENCH DO NOT THINK THE BIAFRANS WILL ACCEPT THIS PLAN (THOUGH FRENCH HAVE NOT BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THEM ON SEPT. 5 OR 6 AND DO NOT EXPECT TO SEE THEM TODAY), (B) GOF WILL NOT OPPOSE ICRC'S PLAN WITH BIAFRANS, ALTHOUGH THEY CANNOT SUPPORT IT. FINALLY, LEBEL SAID, (C) IF AS FRENCH BELIEVE, BIAFRANS REJECT ICRC'S PLAN, THE FRENCH

GOVT RESERVES ITS RIGHT TO SAY PUBLICLY WHAT IT THOUGHT OF PLAN.
 BLAKE

CONFIDENTIAL

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*Paris 13501
 9/1/69*

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 Authority VND 954503
 By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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Geographic

Other

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Task Force

AF 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

ACDA 5
AID 12

Functional

Principals and
"S" Area

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Other
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Pal 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 PARIS 13502 071147Z

46
 ACTION SS: 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, /071 W
 100154

O 071125Z SEP 69
 FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6840
 INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 13502

LIMDIS

REF: (A) STATE 151172
 (B) PARIS 13501

FOR ACTING SECRETARY FROM CHARGE

1. QUAI DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA AND MIDEAST LEBEL HAS JUST CALLED TO SAY
 HE DELIVERED OUR MESSAGE PER REFTEL TO ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER
 ALPHAND, AND LATTER CONFIRMED LEBEL'S ORIGINAL STATEMENT REPORTED
 REFTEL B.
 BLAKE

*Paris 13502
 9/7/69*

(1)

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 By MVA Date 10/5/05

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Principals and "S" Area

ES *✓*
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U *✓*
J *✓*
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C *2*
S/PC *2*

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S/FW
S/GOV
S/IL

S/PM
S/R
U/CF *X*
U/PW
J/PM *✓*
D/WP
U/UGS

Geographic

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ARA *9*
EA *11*
EUR *10*
NEA *8*

Functional

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INR *6*
IO *4*
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O *3*
OPR
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WH *10*
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Other

ACDA *5*
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By *MN* NARA Date *10/3/05*

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA- NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 839

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03201 071322Z

46
ACTION SS 70INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, /071 W
100341

O R 071310Z SEP 69 ZFF-4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2849
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3201

LIMDIS

WASHINGTON FOR U/CF

SUBJ: NIGERIA-ICRC

WE MET BRIEFLY WITH HENTSCH (NAVILLE'S STAFF ASST) TODAY.
HE TOLD US:

1. NO REPEAT NO CONTACT YET WITH OBI. JAGGI APPARENTLY RESPONSIBLE
FOR THIS PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS. IF OBI CANNOT RETURN GENEVA
JAGGI WILL FLY FRANKFURT.

2. THAT FREYMOND BELIEVES OPERATION WILL COLLAPSE UNLESS ICRC
CAN OBTAIN FIRM SUPPORT STATEMENTS FROM LUNS GROUP GOVERNMENTS
(ESP USG). ICRC IN TURN WOULD USE THESE STATEMENTS VIS-
A-VIS BIAFRANS AS EVIDENCE THIRD PARTY MORAL GUARANTIES.
FREYMOND, NOW EN ROUTE ISTANBUL. WILL MAKE THIS POINT TO NAVILLE
AND TU US DEL.

3. RE ICRC DEVELOPMENTS LAGOS SEE GENEVA 3199 AND 3200.
TUBBY

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

Geneva 3201
9-7-69

L I M D I S

TOP SECRET

I N C O M I N G

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SERIAL 3201

1969 SEP 7 AM 10 37

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Secretariat

Geographic

Other

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S/S-Screener 3
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S/S-CMS
S/S-O DIR
MilRep
Digest
Task Force

AF 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

ACDA 5

AID 12

Functional

Principals and
"S" Area

CU
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LAB

HEW

INT

S/CPR
S/FW
S/GOV
S/IL

Other

TRANS
CAB

S/PM
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J/PM
D/WP
U/UCS

WH 10
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CIA 4
USIA 4
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 COTONO 00914 080108Z

83
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01,SSO 00,NSCE 00,CCO 00,USIE 00,CIAE 00,DODE 00,JPM 04,H 02,

INR 07,L 03,NSAE 00,NSC 10,P 03,RSC 01,PRS 01,SS 20,IO 13,UCF 05,

UPW 01,AID 28,SR 01,ORM 03,SCS 04,SCA 01,RSR 01,127 W
101420

O P 072146Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2390
USMISSION GENEVA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE COTONOU 914

STURZENEGGER ICRC REP COTONOU REQUESTS
FOLLOWING BE DELIVERED URGENTLY TO BIGNAMI AT
OPENING BUSINESS MONDAY MORNING, QUOTE,

PRIMO: AIRCRAFT INCL. CREW AVAILABLE AS FROM SEP 10 C-97
HB-ILX, HB-ILY, HB-ILZ DC-6B TF-FRA, TF-FRB

SECUNDO: EACH C-97 CARRYING 5200 KGS MEDICAMENTS AND
11800 KGS MILKPOWDER STOP TF-FRA WITH 4000 KGS MEDIC. AND
9000 KGS MILKPOWDER STOP
TF-FRB WITH 4000 KGS MEDIC. AND 8500 KGS MILKPOWDER STOP

TERTIO: SCHEDULES AS FOLLOWS
HB-ILX STD COO 0800 GMT
TF-FRA 0815
HB-ILY 0830
HB-ILZ 0850
TF-FRB 0900 UNQUOTE
LOORAM
BT

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45

Cotonou
9-7-69
914

0516

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By MVA NARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 279 BIAFRA-
Department of State ^{NIGERIA}
TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 SANTA 00255 081900Z

44
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, EUR 17, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01,

ORM 03, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, E 15, RSR 01,

/159 W

105920

P 061200Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY SANTA ISABEL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 238
INFO AMEMBASSY LOME

*Santa Isabel 255-
9-6-69*

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SANTA ISABEL 255

REF STATE 148000

1. ICRC STAFF SANTA ISABEL HAS THREE AIRCRAFT AND TWO COMPLETE CREWS AVAILABLE IMMEDIATE FLIGHT. AIRCRAFT ARE DC-6.
2. ONE DC-6 ON STANDBY IN STOCKHOLM AVAILABLE 24-48 HOURS. 3 STANDBY CREWS IN STOCKHOLM AVAILABLE WITH PLANE.
3. ICRC HAS SEVEN THOUSAND TONS FOODSTUFFS ON ISLAND AVAILABLE IMMEDIATE SHIPMENT. INCLUDES SEVEN HUNDRED TONS STOCK FISH.
4. LOCAL STAFF APPEAR HAVE HIGH MORAL AND SEEM READY FOR FLIGHTS AT ANYTIME.
5. ABOVE STATEMENTS EXPRESSED OK ICRC REPRESENTATIVE SANTA ISABEL OVER PERIOD OF PAST 2 WEEKS. BELIEVE THEM TO REPRESENT HIS BELIEFS AND BELIEVE THEM ACCURATE. GP4. BURKE

①

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LONDON 07092 061128Z

48-41

ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, NEA 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01,

UPW 01, RSR 01, SSO 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00,

CCO 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20

/138 W

096549

P R 061040Z SEPI 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2635
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LONDON 7092

SUBJ: VISIT OF MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORG. REP

JA USMAN (ISUMAN), DIRGEN MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF
ORGANIZATION, CALLED AT EMBASSY TODAY RE HIS ONWARD FLIGHT
TO U.S. CONFIRMED HE WILL BE ON TW-709 ARRIVING DULLES
16:45 TODAY.
ANNENBERG

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26

*London - 7092
9-6-69*

①

0518

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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151153

04

6 SEP 69 19 09z

INDICATE:
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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

INFO: USMission GENEVA

STATE _____

LIMDIS _____

SUBJECT: JCA C-97's

REF: Lagos 8034 ✓

1. Appreciate views expressed reftel and fully share your concern possible FMG reaction. JCA undertaking not publicize receipt C-97's but in view wide knowledge long standing request and great interest relief groups and others, delivery will undoubtedly soon become known.

2. Still feel it better say nothing directly FMG and await their reaction but would appreciate your views. In meantime, believe it helpful when occasion offers continue emphasize to FMG extraordinary domestic and international pressures and necessity US ^{direct} show some degree/support for international relief activities.

3. In this connection you might emphasize strong statement UNSYG at OAU as illustration international concern, coming from one most

151153

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:WHBrubeck:nb	DRAFTING DATE 9/6/69	TEL. EXT. 21185	APPROVED BY: AF - Mr. Newsom
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CLEARANCES:

~~XXXXX~~
U/CF - Mr. Davidson *RP*

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4-68

0519

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By **MV** NARA Date **10/5/05**



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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

Page 2

INFO: USMission GENEVA

sympathetic to FMG. Should also note our efforts on behalf
ICRC resumption legal flights and representations to FMG have
been precisely in order make possible USG limit its support to
other groups, relieve such pressures. ~~xxxxx~~ Hopefully, once ICRC
~~xxxxxx~~ it would be possible
~~xxxxxx~~ program underway ~~xxxxxx would hope~~ possible bring other
relief programs into legal status under ICRC umbrella. Caritas
has already indicated desire to do so. You may say US will make
every effort achieve this goal with other groups.

4. Re our long-standing commitment JCA, if issue arises, you should say
our original commitment was four operational aircraft. Condition
of aircraft and maintenance problems have demonstrated need two
back-up planes in maintenance status// In order keep four operational.
JCA request has been outstanding many months and US has deferred
action in spite of heavy pressures in hope satisfactory agreement
for legal flights would be achieved, ~~(xxxxxx)~~ assuming legalization would remove
~~(xxxxxx)~~ sensitivity of issue. However, deterioration original four planes and continued impasse

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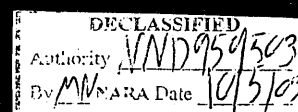
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FORM FS-413
4-68

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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

Page 3

INFO: USMission GENEVA

ICRC program made impossible further US deferral in making good on original commitment.

5. We agree this argument will meet ~~kk~~ limited sympathy in Lagos. reflects
However, should point out problem/~~reflects~~ difficulties which arose from protracted breakdown legal relief program and our hope successful implementation ICRC agreement// ~~f~~ will obviate such problems in future.

6. We also sending you material re contemplated USAID contributions Nigerian relief program, which may help offset FMG pain.

RICHARDSO

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08063 061412Z

45

ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, UPW 01, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, E 15, AID 28,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03,

RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 148 W

097154

P 061222Z SEP 69

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8835

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 8063

FOR UYCF (HASTEN FOR DEWEY)

SUBJ: NIGERIA - LOGISTICS SUMMARY REPORT

REF: STATE 138745 *Pol 27-9 Biafra Nigeria*

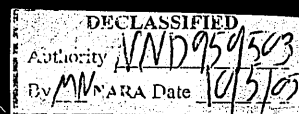
1. FOLLOWING IS CURRENT STATUS OF PROJECTS
DISCUSSED REFTEL

A. VINNELL PROJECT PROGRESSING
SATISFACTORILY WITH THREE MAN TEAM
ESTABLISHED AND FUNCTIONING IN ENUGU
AS OF 25 AUGUST 1969. ADDITIONAL
PERSONNEL WITH SPECIAL TOOL SETS
DEPARTING LAGOS THIS WEEKEND TO
ASSIST INITIAL PHASE OF ENUGU
OPERATION PENDING RECEIPT PERMISSION
OPERATE IN PORT HARCOURT. THREE
MAN TEAM LEAVING FOR CALABAR ON FIRST
AVAILABLE AIRCRAFT. COMBINED ICRC/
REHAB COMMISSION/VINNELL TEAM FACILITY
AT APAPA BEING ESTABLISHED THIS WEEKEND.

B. NO CHANGE IN PRESENT DISTRIBUTION
AND ALLOCATION OF RELIEF SUPPLIES INDICATED
BY ICRC PROGRAM DURING LAGOS TO ENUGU

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08063 061412Z

TRIP 19-25 AUGUST 1969 FOR PURPOSE OF PLACING AND COORDINATING VINNELL TEAM ENUGU AND INSPECTION WAREHOUSE AND STOCKS AT KOKO. WAS UNABLE DUE TO TIME LIMITATION VISIT FEEDING AND REFUGEE CAMPS SUPPLIED FROM ENUGU. LEAVE TOMORROW FOR ANOTHER MORE COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY OF DISTRIBUTION PICTURE IN THAT AREA. WILL REPORT ON MY RETURN. PLAN TO VISIT CALABAR AND PORT HARCOURT AREA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN COMPANY ROGER SPROWLS.

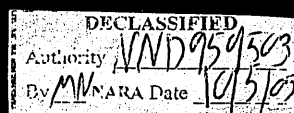
C. WORKING CLOSELY WITH ED MARKS ON EXCESS PROPERTY REQUIREMENTS AND REQUISITIONING PROCEDURES. A LIST OF ITEMS SELECTED FROM USAID LOGISTICS SERVICE CENTER SECTION 608 PERSONAL PROPERTY LISTING 69-1, BEING FORWARDED TODAY IN ACCORDANCE WITH CURRENT LOG SERV. CTR INSTRUCTIONS. INFORMAL NOTE FROM RAY BRANCH INDICATES COL. DAVID NEGOTIATING WITH GSA FOR ACQUISITION PROPERTY PRESENTLY HELD AT CHARLESTON A.D. PROCEDURES BEING ESTABLISHED HERE TO PRECLUDE FUTURE MISUNDERSTANDING REGARDS DOD/GSA-USAID EXCESS PROPERTY REQUESTS.

D. WHEELS MOVE SLOWLY ON OBTAINING REQUIRED AUTHORIZATION/JUSTIFICATION FROM NATIONAL REHABILITATION COMMISSION/ STATE REHAB AUTHORITIES FOR COMPLIANCE WITH PROAG PROCEDURES. HOWEVER, SOUTHEASTERN AND RIVERS STATES ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT POTENTIAL USES OF LCM-6'S THEIR AREAS. WHEN FORMAL REQUESTS ARE RECEIVED BY OMO-BARE WE WILL EXPEDITE NECESSARY PAPER WORK TO FINALIZE PROJECT.

E. SITUATION ON LSM'S REPORTED LAGOS 8047.

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PAGE 03: LAGOS 08063 061412Z

CREW PROBLEM NOW RESOLVED
AND CORNELLY HAS ASSURED ME AMEMBASSY
WILL NOT BE BOTHERED FURTHER WITH SEAMAN WANTING
TO GO HOME.

2. OVERALL LOGISTICS PICTURE APPEARS
BRIGHT WITH ADDITIONAL EXPERTISE
BEING FURNISHED ORR. WILL PROVIDE
SUMMARY OF FORTHCOMING TRIP ON
RETURN TO LAGOS. DECON 9/5/70
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By	MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 366

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03197 061311Z

48

ACTION: SS: 70

INFO: OCT 01, CIAE: 00, DODE: 00, NSCE: 00, SSO: 00, USIE: 00, CCO: 00, /07, W
096947

P R 061230Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2845
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY COTONOU

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 3197

LIMDIS

STATE FOR UNCF

SUBJ: NIGERIA-ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REF: GENEVA 3187

FOLLOWING POINTS EMERGED IN BRIEF TELCON (1300) WITH
BASSET:

1. HE HAS JUST COMPLETED MEETING WITH BIGNAMI WHO
RETURNING IMMEDIATELY TO LAGOS. BIGNAMI HAD BEEN
OPTIMISTIC AND CONFIRMED THAT ENAHORO STATEMENT PURELY
FOR LOCAL CONSUMPTION. STIPULATION IN FMG REPLY THAT
ICRC MUST WORK OUT STARTING DATE OF FLIGHTS WITH ARMY
AND AIRFORCE WOULD PRESENT NO REPEAT NO DIFFICULTIES.

2. BOTH PARTIES HAVE ACCEPTED "TECHNICAL ANNEX".

3. BASSET NOW TRYING NAIL DOWN FINAL AGREEMENT WITH
BIAFRANS. HE HAD PLACED PHONE CALL TO OBI IN FRANKFURT
BUT LATTER APPARENTLY EXPECTED THERE ONLY LATER
TODAY. IF NEED BE BASSET OR OTHER ICRC OFFICIAL WILL
FLY TO FRANKFURT FOR FACE TO FACE MEETING.

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Geneva 3197
9-6-69

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03197 061311Z

COMMENT: BASSET SEEMED TO BE HOLDING BACK SOME INFORMATION.
WE WERE UNABLE DETERMINE WHETHER HE GENUINELY OPTIMISTIC
OR PUTTING ON "STIFF UPPER LIP" PERFORMANCE.
TUBBY

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0526

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By	MW NARA Date 10/5/05

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Task Force

Principals and "S" Area

ES 2
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C
S/PC 2

S/CPR
S/FW
S/GOV
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U/CF 1
U/PW
J/PM 1
D/WP
U/UCS

Geographic

AF 5-5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

Functional

CU
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By MWA Date 10/3/05

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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Origin

ACTION: Amembassy PARIS IMMEDIATE

Info:

INFO: USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

STATE

~~L I M D I S~~

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM ACTING SECRETARY

1. After receiving Paris 13466 we called in French EmbOff to urge French reconsider position re "double control" and to express hope French would urge Biafrans accept ICRC proposal. French Embassy has received reply from Quai reiterating original view. Not clear whether GOF proposes actively encourage Biafrans turn down ICRC proposal but seems certain they will not urge acceptance.
2. ICRC feels compelled resolve issue one way or another tomorrow September 7 and busy trying to obtain Biafran acceptance. We believe French influence could be critical factor in Biafran response.
would
3. Department appreciates your effort contact Schumann soonest.

Drafted by:

AF/SN:WHBrubeck:ls 9/6/69

Tel. Ext. 21185

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

AF - DDNewsom

Clearances:

S/PC-Mr. Ruser

S/S - Mr. Hornblow

U-The Under Secretary (substance)

By: P.W. 12.

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

Pol 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

151172

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6 SEP 69 20 30z

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy PARIS

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You can say that while appreciating that there may be a number of points not fully resolved, we would strongly hope that at last hour when success seems likely GOF would not feel obliged raise point which could cause delay/^{or}~~an~~ setback. We would, in fact, hope French would, in view of progress made to date, urge Biafrans to agree on basis formula now worked out by ICRC without new or fatal Biafran conditions. You should tell Schumann our impression ICRC believes right of inspection at point origin may not be ~~xxx~~ claimed at all by Nigerians and hopes right of call down will be very selectively exercised. ICRC appears willing attempt resuming flights without forcing parties to argue issues not essential operation under formal agreement.

4. We believe excellent chance ICRC can succeed and French cooperation with Biafrans could be of great value if occurs before critical decision tomorrow. We appreciate close consultation with French this subject and on this basis trust Schumann will understand our expression concern to him at this time.

RICHARDSO

GP-3

END

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FORM DS-322A
8-63
CONTINUATION SHEET

0529

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TELEGRAM

ORG 7 AF/SN

151173

28 POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

26-B

6 SEP 69 20 30z

INDICATE:
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DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY
Amembassy LONDON

INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
Amembassy BONN
Amembassy THE HAGUE
Amembassy OSLO
Amembassy PARIS
Amembassy ROME
US Mission GENEVA

STATE

SUBJECT: Brubeck Trip

1. In course of review US Nigerian policy Secretary has asked William Brubeck, Director of recently organized Special Staff on Nigeria, ^{make} ~~take~~ trip to addressee posts for conversations senior to ministers and officials on Nigerian problem. Purpose is/exchange of views and learning current attitudes and interests of governments concerned with Nigerian problem. While desiring broad and thorough discussions, we want to make clear visit reflects continuing US concern with all aspects problem not new US initiative/ or new political role for US in peace seeking.

2. Proposed Brubeck itinerary as follows:

Thursday, Sept. 11 Arrive London (overnight from Washington)

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:WHBrubeck:ind	DRAFTING DATE 9/6/69	TEL. EXT. 21185	APPROVED BY: AF - Mr. Newsom
CLEARANCES: EUR - A. Bank Dubs (subs) S/PC - Mr. Ruser S/S - Mr. Hornblow		U/CF - Mr. Davidson (phone) S/S - Mr. Hornblow	

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4-68

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9/12/69

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0531

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POL 279 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 493

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08729 301958Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, UCF 05, UPW 01, SCSE 00, SCA 01,

SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, E 15, DOT 12, RSR 01, 154 W
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R 301709Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9248
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY
USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS LAGOS 8729

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP SEPTEMBER 30

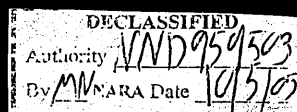
1. RELIEF: POST, SKETCH, OBSERVER AND EXPRESS PICK UP ICRC GENEVA STATEMENT THAT DELEGATION WILL BE SENT TO BIAFRA QTE TO TRY AGAIN TO PERSUADE OJUKWU TO WITHDRAW OPPOSITION UNQTE TO DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS.

2. SMC: POST AND TIMES REPORT SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL MEETING ENDED EVENING SEPT 29. NO OFFICIAL STATEMENT ISSUED BUT TIMES REPORTS QTE OBSERVERS BELIEF FAR-REACHING DECISIONS ON WAR AND WESTERN STATE DISTURBANCES TAKEN UNQTE.

3. UN: POST AND TRIBUNE CARRY ARTICLE SIGNED BY COMMUNICATIONS AMINU KANO WHICH CHARGES THAT UN HAS BECOME QTE INSTRUMENT OF DECEIT AND FALSEHOOD UNQTE BECAUSE OF VETO

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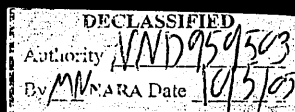
POWER HELD BY FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS. AMONG EXAMPLES OF UN-
INABILITY TO ACT BECAUSE OF IMPLICIT THREAT OF VETO, HE CITES
QTE WATERING DOWN UNQTE OF NIGERIAS 1963 PROPOSAL THAT MONEY
RELEASED BY DISARMAMENT SHOULD BE USED TO BENEFIT DEVELOPING
NATIONS. CHARGES THAT USA AND USSR QTE TEAMED UP UNQTE TO
REDUCE RESOLUTION TO INEFFECTIVENESS. CALLS ON FIVE TO GIVE
UP VETO POWER - A MOVE WHICH, HE SAYS, WOULD BRING QTE MANY
GOOD THINGS TO MANKIND UNQTE INCLUDING QTE MAKING IT POSSIBLE
FOR UN TO ENROLL CHINA IN CLUB UNQTE. SEES ADMISSION OF
CHINA AS HELPING TO QTE SOFTEN HER ATTITUDE TOWARD WORLD
PROBLEMS (BECAUSE)...SHE WILL CAST OFF SHACKLES OF OUTCAST
AND FEEL AT HOME IN COMITY OF NATIONS UNQTE.

4. ON EVE OF NIGERIAS NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF INDEPENDENCE,
PILOT EDITORIAL NOTES QTE WITH REGRET UNQTE THAT NIGERIA
HAS NOT ENJOYED PEACE THROUGHOUT THESE YEARS. REVIEWS
VARIOUS CRISES OF PAST NINE YEARS AND TRACES ALL OF THEM TO
QTE POLITICAL AND PERSONAL ANTAGONISM AND INORDINATE
DESIRE FOR POWER TO CONTROL GOVERNMENT OF FEDERATION
BY SOME UNSCRUPULOUS PERSONS UNQTE AND CONCLUDES THAT
QTE IF NIGERIA IS TO RETURN TO NORMAL TIMES WHETHER
IN CIVILIAN OR MILITARY ADMINISTRATION, WE WANT SPIRIT
OF INORDINATE AMBITION FOR POLITICAL POWER TO BE ERASED
FROM MINDS OF NIGERIANS NOW UNQTE ENDS WITH HOPE THAT
TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF INDEPENDENCE WILL SEE PEACE IN COUNTRY
AND CALLS FOR FMG TO SPEED UP MILITARY OPERATIONS TO BRING
WAR TO END.

5. WESTERN STATE SITUATION: PAPERS REPORT PUBLIC BUILDINGS
BURNED AND LOOTED IN VILLAGE NEAR ABEOKUTA BY ARMED RIOTERS
EARLY SEPT 29. WESTERN STATE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED IT HAD
LIFTED CURFEW ON CITY OF IBADAN YESTERDAY QTE IN VIEW OF
IMPROVEMENT IN SECURITY IN STATE UNQTE. EXPRESS
EDITORIAL DECLARES THAT QTE TEDIOUS STATEMENT BY GOVERNMENT
OF WESTERN STATE ON BOILING ALAFIN (TRADITIONAL RULER)
OF OYO CHIEFTAINCY ISSUE (SEE SEPT 29 ROUNDUP) SHOULD BE SEEN
AS LAST BID BY GOVERNMENT TO SAVE ITS FACE AFTER POURING
FUEL INTO ALAFIN FIRE UNQTE. WARNS WESTERN STATE
GOVERNMENT TO ALLOW NEW CHIEF TO BE CHOSEN BY TRADITIONAL
GROUP OF QTE KINGMAKERS UNQTE INSTEAD OF WARRANT CHIEFS.
IT HAS APPOINTED OR IT WILL BE GOVERNMENTS QTE OWN UNDOING UNQTE.

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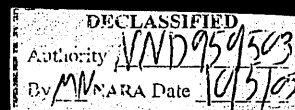
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YM AWOLOWO'S ARTICLE: TRIBUNE CARRIES FULL TEXT OF ARTICLE BY CHIEF AWOLOWO PUBLISHED ORIGINALLY IN SEPT 28 TIMES AND IN ACCOMPANYING EDITORIAL PRAISES QTE GREAT SERVICE UNQTE TO NATION AND QTE GREAT FAVOR UNQTE TO WESTERN STATE GOVERNMENT DONE BY AWOS QTE REALISTIC, THOUGHTFUL AND UNQUESTIONABLY FAR-SIGHTED UNQTE SOLUTIONS TO WEST'S PROBLEMS. CALLS ON WESTERN STATE GOVERNMENT TO SEIZE QTE GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY UNQTE PRESENTED TO IT GRATIS AND ACT IMMEDIATELY TO IMPLEMENT ALL OF AWOS PROPOSALS. SAYS THAT QTE SOME ELEMENTS IN GOVERNMENT OUT OF PIQUE OR PREJUDICE OR BOTH UNQTE MAY OPPOSE ACCEPTING ANYTHING AWO SUGGESTS BUT GOVERNMENT QTE UNREALISTIC ENOUGH TO REJECT GOOD SUGGESTIONS SIMPLY BECAUSE OF PERSONALITY OF AUTHOR, IS ON VERGE OF COMMITTING SUICIDE UNQTE. SKETCH EDITORIAL STATES THAT QTE AS WELL INTENTIONED UNQTE AS AWOS SUGGESTIONS ARE, ADVOCACY OF LOCAL ELECTIONS IS QTE ILL-TIMED UNQTE. SAYS THAT POSSIBILITY OF DIVORCING SUCH ELECTIONS FROM POLITICS IS QTE REMOTE UNQTE AND OPINES THAT WHAT REALLY IS NEEDED IS IMPLEMENTATION OF EARLIER INVESTIGATIONS RECOMMENDATIONS THAT LOCAL ADVISORY COMMITTEES BE ESTABLISHED IN ALL PARTS OF STATE. OBSERVER EDITORIAL STATES IT WELCOMES ANY SOLUTION WHICH WILL END BLOODSHED IN WEST QTE BUT WE CERTAINLY CANNOT SUPPORT RECIPE FOR PEACE BASED ON PERSONAL BIAS OR SECTIONAL INTEREST. WE CANNOT SUPPORT PEACE PLAN WHICH BLACKMAILS GOVERNMENT INTO DISCONTINUING REVENUE COLLECTION SYSTEM TO APPEASE RIOTERS UNQTE. DECLARES THAT AWO AS COMFINANCE, INSTITUTED AUSTERITY MEASURES ON FEDERAL LEVEL AIMED AT BOOSTING WAR ECONOMY AND NIGERIANS HAVE NOT QTE KICKED UNQTE AND THEREFORE OBSERVER IS QTE SURPRISED UNQTE HE SHOULD CALL FOR ABOLISHING BADLY NEEDED GOVERNMENT REVENUE AT TIME OF NATIONAL CRISIS. REGISTERS ITS QTE SHOCK UNQTE AT HIS CHOICE OF WORDS QTE UNJUST RATES UNQTE AND QTE ACTS OF OPPRESSION UNQTE AND ASKS DOES HE SUGGEST SOME ASPECT OF TAXATION PUNITIVE AND THAT GOVERNMENT IS OPPRESSIVE. ENDS WITH QUESTION THAT IF AWOLOWO QTE KNEW SO MUCH ABOUT WESTERN CRISIS UNQTE AND QTE DISSIDENT MINORITY GROUPS UNQTE BEING USED BY QTE OUTSIDERS WITH POLITICAL AXE TO GRIND UNQTE WHY DID NOT HE LET WESTERN STATE GOVERNMENT KNOW ABOUT IT. OLSON

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Department of State *NIGERIA*
TELEGRAM

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ACTION: USMission GENEVA

INFO: Amembassy LAGOS

STATE _____

FOR DAVIDSON

SUBJECT: NIGERIA-ICRC Planning

Request current info re ICRC budget and programming,
including:

1. Forecast contributions, by whom and how firm.
2. ICRC expectations re future USG contributions.
including planning for G-97's,
3. Contingency planning, based on likelihood pullout
major efforts in both Nigeria and enclave.

~~including planning for G-97's,~~

~~Recognizing difficulty getting complete details, request~~

~~for current reports on G-97's,~~

END

RICHARDSON

DRAFTED BY:
U/CF:AE Dewey

DRAFTING DATE
9/29/69

TEL. EXT.
23256

APPROVED BY:
U/CF - Ambassador Ferguson

CLEARANCES: AF/SN

~~AF/SN~~ - Mr. Sherry

AFR/CWA - Miss Frederick *CARL*

AF - Ambassador Moore

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By *MV NARA* Date *10/3/05*



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TELEGRAM

SECRET 291

PAGE 01 PARIS 14919 301710Z

51
ACTION: AFI 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, UPH 01, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, CIAE 00,
DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, PI 09, RSC 01,
PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, TST W

R 301620Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7544
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIOJANI
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USMISSION USUN

SECRET PARIS 14919

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA: BRUBECK TALKS IN PARIS (VII); NORWEGIAN REPS:

REF: OSLO 3885

1. BRUBECK AND EMBOFF HAD DINNER MEETING SEPTEMBER 29 WITH NORWEGIAN FOREIGN OFFICE UNDER SECRETARY FRITHJOF JACOBSEN AND THORVALD STOLTENBERG, SECRETARY TO NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER LYNG. THEY HAD LEFT OSLO SAME DAY ON FIRST LEG OF TRIP WHICH WILL TAKE THEM TO GENEVA FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH ICRC AND SUBSEQUENTLY TO NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON.

2. IN NEW YORK, JACOBSEN AND STOLTENBERG PLAN SEE ARIKPO AND BIAFRAN REPS AND WILL ASK LATTER OBTAIN CLEARANCE FOR THEM VISIT BIAFRA IN MID-OCTOBER. THEY ALSO HOPE SEE FRENCH UN REP BERARO, SINCE THEY HAD NO TIME DURING PARIS STOPOVER TALK WITH ANY GOF OFFICIALS HERE.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 213

PAGE 01 PARIS 14918 301642Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, UCF 05,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03,

RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 155 W

15251

R 301615Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7543
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN

SECRET PARIS 14918

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA: BRUBECK TALKS IN PARIS (VI);
TERRENOIRE

REF: PARIS 2456

1. BRUBECK AND EMBOFF MET AFTERNOON SEPTEMBER 29 WITH YOUNG
GAULLIST DEPUTY ALAIN TERRENOIRE, PASSIONATE ADVOCATE OF
SUPPORT FOR BIAFRA.

2. TERRENOIRE REVIEWED ARGUMENTATION HE HAD ADVANCED IN
FEBRUARY DISCUSSION WITH EMBOFF (REFTEL). HE PUT FRESH EMPHASIS
ON BENEFITS TO SOVIETS FROM CONTINUATION STRUGGLE AS REASON
WHY NEW EFFORTS NEEDED TO BRING ABOUT SOLUTION, BUT ARGUED
THAT NO SETTLEMENT POSSIBLE UNTIL "BALANCE OF POWER" BROUGHT
INTO BETTER EQUILIBRIUM BY U.S. POLICY SHIFT "AWAY FROM FMG
TO TRUE NEUTRALITY".

3. PRESSED BY BRUBECK TO COMMENT ON POSSIBLE GOF CONTRIBUTION,
TERRENOIRE INSISTED FRANCE COULD INDEED USE INFLUENCE WITH
BIAFRANS TO ACCEPT COMPROMISE FORMULA BUT ONLY AT LATER STAGE.
FIRST STEP, HE INSISTED, WAS U.S. POLICY SHIFT WHICH WOULD

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OPEN WAY TO NEGOTIATIONS, THUS IMPLYING THAT FRENCH ABILITY TO BE HELPFUL WAS UNFORTUNATELY STYMIED BY U.S. UNWILLINGNESS MAKE FIRST MOVE.

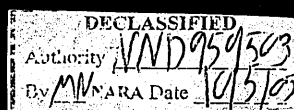
4. AT END OF CONVERSATION, TERRENOIRE SUGGESTED THAT QUIET U.S.-UK-GOF MEETINGS MIGHT BE USEFUL TO EXPLORE GROUND AND SEEK POSSIBLE COMMON GROUND FOR APPROACH TO POSSIBLE SETTLEMENT.

5. COMMENT: NOTHING NEW EMERGED FROM CONVERSATION, WHICH NONETHELESS PROVIDED USEFUL OPPORTUNITY EXPOSE ANOTHER PRO-BIAFRAN DEPUTY TO MORE REALISTIC VIEW OF NIGERIA/ BIAFRA SITUATION.

GP-4.
SHRIVER

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Pol 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 057

PAGE 01 PARIS 14889 301352Z

51
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01,

PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, ACDA 16, RSR 01, 167 W

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R 301112Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7535
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN

SECRET PARIS 14889

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA: BRUBECK TALKS IN PARIS (IV): QUAI

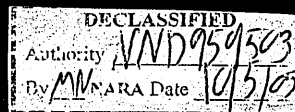
1. BRUBECK AND EMOFF MET SEPTEMBER 29 WITH QUAI SEGEN HERVE ALPHAND, DIRECTOR AFRICA-MIDEAST LEBEL AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR NON-FRANCOPHONE AFRICA CARRAUD ALSO PRESENT.

2. BRUBECK OPENED EXCHANGE BY REFERRING TO PROBLEM ICRC RELIEF FLIGHTS AND US VIEW THAT ARGUMENTS PUT FORWARD BY BIAFRANS FOR REJECTION ICRC PLAN ARE NOT CONVINCING. BRUBECK REITERATED THAT USG MAY FIND NECESSARY TO MAKE THIS VIEW PUBLIC IF ICRC FINALLY OBLIGED WITHDRAW COMPLETELY FROM RELIEF OPERATIONS.

3. IN REPLY, ALPHAND SAID GOF FELT RESPONSIBILITY NOT ENTIRELY ON BIAFRAN SIDE, WHICH HAD MADE SIGNIFICANT CONCESSIONS. AFTER REVIEWING BIAFRAN ARGUMENTS, ALPHAND COMMENTED THAT THEIR CONCERN FOR SECURITY PERHAPS UNJUSTIFIED BUT NONETHELESS STRONGLY HELD. AT LATER POINT IN CONVERSATION, ALPHAND ADDED THAT ARGUMENTS DESCRIBED BY GOF WERE THOSE WHICH HAD BEEN GIVEN THEM BY BIAFRANS, AND PRESUMABLY STEMMED PRIMARILY FROM DEEP DISTRUST OF FMG MOTIVATIONS AND, INDEED, OF ICRC.

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RM TURNING TO TO FURTHER STEP OF ENDING HOSTILITIES, BRUBECK SAID HE WONDERED WHETHER TWO SIDES COULD BE BROUGHT TO SERIOUS NEGOTIATION AT THIS STAGE EVEN IF US, UK AND FRANCE AGREED ON FEASIBLE APPROACH AND USED THEIR INFLUENCE TO GET TALKS STARTED. ALPHAND REPLIED WITH RESTATEMENT OFFICIAL GOF POSITION THAT RIGHT SELF-DETERMINATION OF BIAFRAN PEOPLE MUST BE RECOGNIZED. HOWEVER, ALPHAND ADDED, THIS CAN BE TRANSLATED MANY WAYS -- BY INDEPENDENCE, FEDERATION, CONFEDERATION, OR ECONOMIC UNION, FOR EXAMPLE. WHILE BIAFRANS MIGHT INSIST INDEPENDENCE WAS ONLY ANSWER, GOF WAS NOT WEDDED TO ANY PARTICULAR FORM SO LONG AS IT WAS FREELY CHOSEN BY BIAFRANS.

5. ALPHAND THEN REITERATED QUAI VIEW THAT AD HOC COMMITTEE OF AFRICAN CHIEFS OF STATE PUT FORWARD SEPTEMBER 26 BY LEBEL (PARIS 14799) MIGHT PROVE WAY TO SET SCENE FOR NEGOTIATIONS. HE ENVISAGED SUCH GROUP AS EXERCISING "GOOD OFFICES" AND PERHAPS DEFINING AGENDA FOR SUBSEQUENT MEETING OF PARTIES TO CONFLICT.

6. BRUBECK TOLD ALPHAND OF HIS PLAN TO SEE HOUPHOUET END OF WEEK, WHICH LEBEL THOUGHT PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT. ALPHAND SAID HOUPHOUET WAS DEEPLY TROUBLED BY BIAFRAN SITUATION, BUT QUAI HAD NO RECENT INFORMATION ON POSSIBLE CHANGE IN HIS VIEWS AS HINTED EARLIER SEPTEMBER 29 BY ROPARTZ OF FOCCART'S STAFF (PARIS 14821).

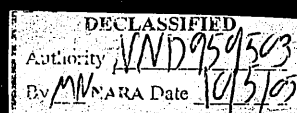
7. ALPHAND CONCLUDED BY REITERATING THAT GOF HAD TAKEN ONLY TWO INITIATIVES: IT CONSIDERS FEASIBLE HUMANITARIAN ROLE AND STATEMENT ON SELF-DETERMINATION. BEYOND THAT, HE SAID, "IT IS DIFFICULT TO INTERFERE IN A PURELY AFRICAN PROBLEM." WHEN BRUBECK COMMENTED THAT AFRICANS TELL US THAT PROBLEM CANNOT BE SOLVED WITHOUT ACTION BY OUTSIDE POWERS (I.E., UK, FRANCE, AND US), ALPHAND REMARKED THAT EVEN BIAFRANS HAVE SAID THAT TO GOF BUT MADE NO FURTHER COMMENT.

8. IN ASIDE AT END OF MEETING, LEBEL PROVIDED INTERESTING HISTORICAL FOOTNOTE. HE SAID DEGAULLE WAS MOVED FROM STRICT HANDS-OFF POSITION TO "SELF-DETERMINATION" STATEMENT BY PERSONAL APPEAL FROM HOUPHOUET, WHO PAID CALL ON DEGAULLE DAY AFTER SEEING FRENCH TV PROGRAM ON HUMAN SUFFERING IN BIAFRA WHICH CAUSED HOUPHOUET BECOME PHYSICALLY ILL.

9. COMMENT. ALPHAND CAREFULLY DEFINED LIMIT OF GOF WILLINGNESS BECOME DIRECTLY INVOLVED AT THIS TIME AND THUS BY IMPLICATION EXCLUDED FURTHER PRESSURE ON BIAFRA ON EITHER ICRC FLIGHTS OR

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ESSENTIALS OF POLITICAL SOLUTION. HE DID SAY THAT GOF HAD PASSED
TO BIAFRANS OUR ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR ICRC PLAN, BUT ADDED ALMOST
APOLOGETICALLY THAT GOF HAD GOTTEN BACK ONLY THE ANSWERS WHICH
WERE ALREADY PUBLICLY KNOWN. GP-3.
SHRIVER

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By	MN NARA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03503 301936Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, E 15, DOT 12, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20,

USIA 12, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, 1172 W

P R 301730Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3137
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY OSLO

116394

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REF: A1 GENEVA 3482 B1 STATE 165333

SUBJECT: C-97 CRASH

1. IN TELECON PASTOR MOLLERUP EXPLAINED THAT C-97 #52676, ONE OF ORIGINAL FOUR TURNED OVER TO JCA, WAS FIRST AIRCRAFT OF FIRST SHUTTLE TO ULI. CAPT FROST FLYING SECOND C-97 OF FIRST SHUTTLE UPON RECEIVING NEWS OF CRASH IMMEDIATELY RETURNED SAO TOME AND REPORTED TO JCA COPENHAGEN. FROST AND COL VICKMAN JCA FLEW TO ULI ON SECOND WAVE ARRIVING AT MIDNIGHT. THEY RETURNED SAO TOME NEXT DAY TO REPORT THAT ACCIDENT OCCURRED WHEN PLANE WAS BEARING 34 ON FINAL. APPROACH SEEMED NORMAL BUT INVESTIGATION LATER INDICATED AIRCRAFT 50 FT TOO LOW AND HIT TREES. CEILING WAS 500-600 FT. CAPT FROST REPORTED THAT CAPT WILSON CALLED THREE TIMES FOR LIGHTS, LAST TIME "IRRITATED WAY".

2. VICKMAN/FROST PRELIMINARY REPORT WILL INCLUDE FOLLOWING CIRCUMSTANCES:

- (1) NUMBER TWO RPT TWO ENGINE PROBABLY FEATHERED.
- (2) DELAY IN TURNING ON RUNWAY LIGHTS.

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(3) CAPT WILSON PILOTING AIRCRAFT WAS NEW TO OPERATION.
(4) CAPT ALEX NICHOLS SITTING IN LEFT SEAT WAS FLIGHT EXAMINER;
CAPT JOHN WILSON IN RIGHT SEAT.
(5) CRASH WAS NOT CAUSED BY WAR ACTIVITIES.

3. ON SEPT 11, SAME AIRCRAFT FLEW WITH NUMBER ONE ENGINE
FEATHERED AND WAS OUT OF OPERATION FROM 29 AUG - 9 SEPT.
MOLLERUP DOES NOT KNOW IF DOWN PERIOD WAS FOR MAINTENANCE, REPAIR
OR LACK OF CREW.

4. COL VICKMAN IS EXPECTED TO ARRIVE COPENHAGEN THURSDAY FROM
SAO TOME AND WILL GIVE REPORT FRIDAY.

5. REGARDING PARA 3 REF B CHENARD MEANT TWO INCOMING C-97'S
WOULD BE REPLACEMENT FOR OVERALL JCA CAPABILITY AND OF COURSE
NOT SPECIFICALLY TO REPLACE CANAIR AIRCRAFT.
BASSIN

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, EUR 17, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, UPW 01, 09

UCF 05, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, 09

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, RSR 01, 144 W
116335

P R 301713Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3135
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMCONSUL STUTTGART

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 3500

SUBJECT: JCA

1. CHENARD INDICATED JCA WILL MEET IN STUTTGART OCTOBER 9-11 TO DISCUSS AMONG OTHER THINGS POSSIBILITY FOR DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. GENERAL BERG IS EXPECTED LEAD DISCUSSION. WHEN ASKED IF HE THOUGHT JCA WOULD HAVE MORE SUCCESS WITH GUARANTEE QUESTION ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF GOVERNMENTS' REFUSAL TO MEET BIAFRAN DEMANDS, HE REPLIED THE BIAFRANS WOULD HAVE TO REALIZE "PEOPLE CAN GO BUT SO FAR", AND THAT JCA IS NOT A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION. HE FELT THAT THROUGH REFINEMENTS AND REDEFINITIONS OF THE POLITICAL QUESTION, AND AGREEMENT MIGHT BE REACHED BASED UPON THE AUG 1 ACCORDS. HE STATED THE BIAFRANS ENTERED INTO AUG 1 AGREEMENT WHICH SHOULD BE THE BASIS FOR JCA DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS ALSO.

2. CHENARD EMPHASIZED THAT DISCUSSIONS WITH BIAFRANS AND FMG SHOULD NOT BIND JCA AS IT DID ICRC WHEREBY RED CROSS REMAINED GROUNDED PENDING DAYLIGHT FLIGHT DECISION.

3. JCA WOULD BE UNABLE TO ACCEPT INSPECTION ON NIGERIAN TERRITORY

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BECAUSE SUCH AN ACTION WOULD BE "FRAUGHT WITH POLITICS". IN ADDITION, JCA PILOTS WHO IN PAST FLEW AS MERCENARIES WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO LAND IN LAGOS.

4. IN GENERAL CHENARD FELT THAT JCA WITH AFRICAN CLERGY WOULD BE IN A BETTER NEGOTIATING POSITION THAN ALL-WHITE ICRC. BIAFRANS, NIGERIANS, AND CLERGY FROM OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA COULD BE CALLED UPON TO ASSIST JCA EFFORT.
BASSIN

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 OTTAWA 01447 302257Z

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ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, ACDA 16,

E 15, DOT 12, SCS 04, SCA 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07,

L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, TRSY 11,

RSR 01, 210 W

117655

R 302235Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5248
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

CONFIDENTIAL OTTAWA 1447

SUBJ: BIAFRAN RELIEF

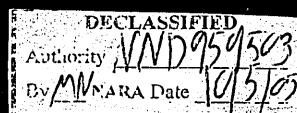
REF STATE 164821

1. EXTAFF INFORMED SUBSTANCE REFTEL. GOC NOW GIVING
ACTIVE CONSIDERATION TO IDEA OF OFFERING CANADIAN
OBSERVERS AND PLANS TO CONSULT FURTHER WITH DEPARTMENT
AS THINKING DEVELOPS.

GP-3
SCHMIDT

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INDICATE:
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ACTION: Amembassy GENEVA
 INFO: Amembassy LAGOS
 Amembassy COTONOU
 Amembassy LONDON
 Amembassy PARIS
 Amembassy ADDIS ABABA

STATE _____

SUBJECT: C-97 Crash

REF: Geneva 3482

1. For clarification, our best information indicates Nichols (FTR chief pilot) was in left seat, Wilson ~~James~~ co-pilot, Maynard observing on his first flight to Uli, Kelly flight engineer and Jaycox cargomaster.
2. Evidence not strong that radio/radar difficulties caused crash. At this point, pattern parallels ICRC DC-6 and Canair constellation crashes, with as little indication of primary cause. O'Quinn (FTR) reports visit to site established all engines running at time of crash.

DRAFTED BY: U/CF - Adewey	DRAFTING DATE 9/29/69	TEL. EXT. 23256	APPROVED BY: U/CF - CCFerguson, Jr.
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CLEARANCES:
 AF/SN - GBSherry
 AFR/CWA - BCarl

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FORM FS-413
 4-68

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 Authority VND 959503
 By MVA Date 10/5/05



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ACTION: Amembassy GENEVA

Page 2

3. Re para 4 reftel, Canairelief does not have C-97's.
There is no USG intent, of course, to replace the
crashed Canairelief aircraft.

END

RICHARDSON

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Pok 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 197

PAGE 01 PARIS 14821 291308Z

54
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, UCF 05, UPW 01, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01,

PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 151 W

106719

R 291250Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7513
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

SECRET PARIS 14821

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA: BRUBECK TALKS IN PARIS (III): ELYSEE

1. BRUBECK AND EMBOFF CALLED SEPT 29 ON MICHAEL ROPARTZ, MEMBER FOCCART'S STAFF AT ELYSEE, FOR EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON NIGERIAN SITUATION. BRUBECK REVIEWED TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS HIS TRIP THUS FAR AND SOUGHT DRAW OUT ROPARTZ ON MODALITIES AND CONTENT OF POSSIBLE NEGOTIATION AND ON PROSPECTS FOR RELIEF EFFORT. ROPARTZ, HOWEVER, REFUSED BE DRAWN AND MADE ONLY THREE COMMENTS OF NOTE:

A. MOST IMPORTANT PERSON FOR BRUBECK TO TALK TO RE BIAFRA POSITION AND NEGOTIATIONS PROSPECTS IS HOUPHOUET. ROPARTZ SAID HOUPHOUET RECENTLY INDICATED TO FOCCART CONSIDERABLE CHANGE OF POSITION. WHILE ROPARTZ ALLEGEDLY NOT INFORMED OF DETAILS, HE THOUGHT HOUPHOUET PERHAPS LEANING TOWARD ENVISAGING GREATER ROLE FOR PRESSURE BY OUTSIDE POWERS.

① B. ROPARTZ SAID HE FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO ENVISAGE FEDERAL FORMULA WHICH COULD PROVE VIABLE "IN VIEW OF WHAT HAS TAKEN PLACE BETWEEN NIGERIA AND BIAFRA". INDEPENDENCE

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PAGE 02 PARIS 14821 291308Z

MIGHT YET BE ONLY WORKABLE SOLUTION.

C. IN DISCUSSING BIAFRAN ABILITY TO RESIST, ROPARTZ DECLARED POINT MUST COME WHEN BIAFRANS WILL NO LONGER BE PHYSICALLY ABLE TO CONTINUE THEIR STRUGGLE.

2. COMMENT: CONVERSATION, WHILE REVEALING LITTLE ABOUT VIEWS FOCCART OFFICE, VERY USEFUL AS MEANS INFORMING FOCCART OF PURPOSE BRUBECK TRIP AND STRESSING USG INTEREST IN ESTABLISHING DIALOGUE WITH GOF. ROPARTZ PROMISED REPORT CONVERSATION FULLY TO FOCCART AND ASKED BE INFORMED OF RESULTS BRUBECK MEETING WITH HOUPHOUET LATER THIS WEEK.
GP-3.
SHRIVER

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 SANTA 00267 292004Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, AID 28, UCF 05, UPW 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, E 15,

SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01, /154 W

109009

R 290727Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY SANTA ISABEL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0247
INFO AMEMBASSY LOME

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SANTA ISABEL 267

1. ICRC CHARTERED SHIP "PLUTO" DEPARTED SANTA ISABEL SEPT 26. DESTINATION SAO TOME. CARGO APPROXIMATELY 800 TONS CSM. THEY CANNOT SEND REMAINING STOCKFISH AS IT INFESTED WITH WORMS AND JCR HAS REFUSED ACCEPT FURTHER DELIVERY. BURKE

*Santa Isabel 267
9-29-69*

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POC 27-9 BIAPRA- NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03482 291243Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, E 15, DOT 12, AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20,

USIA 12, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, 178 W

106576

R 291110Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3119
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 3482

1. CHENARD OF JCA STATES THAT THE NAMES OF CREW WERE:

CAPT JOHN WILSON - CALIFORNIA
CO-PILOT - ROBERT MAYNARD, ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.
ENGINEER - CHARLES KELLY - FLA.
CARGOMASTER JAYCOX - CALIFORNIA
FLIGHT ENGINEER - CAPT ALEX NICHOLS - ENGLAND

2. LACK OF RADIO COMMUNICATION OR RADAR DIFFICULTIES PRESUMED
REASON FOR CRASH.

3. 12 FLIGHTS ARRIVED ULI BUT NO C-97S FLEW.

4. CHENARD STATES TWO NEW C-97S PROGRAMMED FOR JCA USE WOULD
NOW MERELY REPLACE THE TWO CRASHED AIRCRAFT (CANAIR C-97).

5. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM JCA INDICATES THAT #3 ENGINE MAY
HAVE BEEN FEATHERED WHILE NEW PILOT WILSON APPROACHING ULI.
THREE TIMES HE ASKED FOR LIGHTS; IT IS ASSUMED THAT HE DID NOT
SEE LIGHTS AND TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO PULL OUT OF HIS DESCENT.
PILOTS GENERALLY AGREED THIS AIRCRAFT WHILE NOT YET HAVING

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GENEVA-3482
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03482 291243Z

UNDERGONE MAINTENANCE IN TEL AVIV WAS BEST C-97.
BASSIN

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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Department of State

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

TELEGRAM

XR DEF 12-5 BIAFRA

CONFIDENTIAL 399

PAGE 01 LIBREV 00992 291537Z

54
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, AID 28, UCF 05, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20

USIA 12, EUR 17, RSR 01, 151 W

107597

R 291420Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2835
INFO USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL LIBREVILLE 992

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN AIRLIFT

REF: SICR-DCDB 21909 (DIA)

1. PRESUMED ARMS FLIGHTS SINCE SEPTEMBER 22:

A. DC-4 F-BBDD NIGHTLY SEPTEMBER 22 THROUGH 28, EXCEPT
POSSIBLY SEPTEMBER 27 (6 FLIGHTS CONFIRMED);

B. DC-7 TR-LOK NIGHTLY SEPTEMBER 23 THROUGH 26 (4 FLIGHTS);

2. PRESUMED RELIEF FLIGHTS SINCE SEPTEMBER 22:

A. DC-4 F-BRAP NIGHTLY SEPTEMBER 22 THROUGH 28, EXCEPT
POSSIBLY SEPTEMBER 24 (6 FLIGHTS UNCONFIRMED);

B. DC-4 F-BRHE NIGHTLY SEPTEMBER 22 THROUGH 28 (7 FLIGHTS);

C. DC-6 00-HEX NIGHTS SEPTEMBER 27 AND 28 (2 FLIGHTS);

3. REMARKS: RELIEF CARRIER 00-HEX, BYAS DC-6 AIRCRAFT UNDER
CHARTER TO "OPERATION AFRICA CONCERN", RETURNED LIBREVILLE
SEPTEMBER 26 AND RESUMED NIGHTLY RELIEF FLIGHTS AFTER SIX-DAY
ABSENCE. SUSPECT MISSION OUTSIDE GABON MAY HAVE BEEN TO
TRANSPORT BIAFRAN CHILDREN FROM OVERFLOWING CENTERS HERE
TO ABIDJAN OR ELSEWHERE. GP-4

FUNKHOUSER

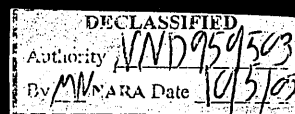
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Libreville 992
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 785

PAGE 01 COTONO: 00979 292117Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, CCO: 00, SSO: 00, NSCE: 00, USIE: 00, CIAE: 00, DODE: 00, JPM: 04, H: 02,
INR: 07, L: 03, NSAE: 00, NSC: 10, P: 03, RSC: 01, PRS: 01, SS: 20, ID: 13, NEA: 13,
EUR: 17, UCF: 05, SCS: 04, SCA: 01, SR: 01, ORM: 03, AID: 28, UPW: 01, RSR: 01,
E: 15, INT: 06, AGR: 20, 198 W

O P 291820Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2437
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L COTONOU 979

SUBJECT: RSM THOMAS

1. MET CAPTAIN AMAKU THENINGERIAN INSPECTOR/CONTROLLER
WHO IS PILOT ON NIGERIAN AIR FORCE. HE INDICATED HE HAD
BEEN TO SANTA ISABEL AND ACCORDING TO ICRC OFFICIALS, HE
HAS BEEN INSPECTING RELIEF SUPPLIES IN WAREHOUSES COTONOU.
SOME SHOVELS AND MACHETES WERE SHIPPED FROM COTONOU SO THAT
HE WOULD NOT SEE THEM.

2. LLOYD ANDERSON, CHIEF FLIGHT ENGINEER, WILL BE LEAVING COTONOU
AS CONTRACT EXPIRES OCTOBER 10, 1969. HE HAS SET UP TRAINING
PROGRAM SO TRANSAL PILOTS CAN MAKE TRANSITION TO C-97 AND TO
TRAIN C-97 LOADMASTERS TO BE SECOND ENGINEERS. HE OPINED DC-7'S
BEING PULLED OUT BECAUSE OF POSSIBILITY OF SWEDISH AIRPLANES
AFFECTING NEGOTIATIONS ON RELIEF FLIGHTS. HE NOTED ICRC
MAINTENANCE PEOPLE BEING SENT BACK TO TEL AVIV EXCEPT FOR
SKELETON CREW. ANDERSON MADE SUGGESTION THAT ICRC CREWS BE
PUT ON LEAVE FROM ICRC CONTRACTS AND THEN BE HIRED BY JCA WITH
ICRC OPTION TO PULL THEM BACK IF NEEDED.

3. STANLEY DREYER (CARE) WHO JUST COMPLETED FIVE MONTHS
IN ENCLAVE VISITED EMBASSY 9/26/69. HE REPORTED CONDITIONS
ARE VERY BAD AND STARVATION SERIOUS AS TO PROTEINS AND CARBO-

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By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 COTONO 00979 292117Z

HYDRATES, WITH KWASHIORKOR ON THE INCREASE. PRESENT ARE OF ENCLAVE IS LEAST PRODUCTIVE AND IN NEED OF FERTILIZATION. HE OPINES 500 TONS RELIEF SUPPLIES PER NIGHT FOR ONE YEAR NEEDED TO STABILIZE FOOD SITUATION IN ENCLAVE. WITH NO ICRC FLIGHTS THERE IS LACK OF PETROL FOR RELIEF VEHICLES MAKING TRANSPORTATION DIFFICULT. ALTHOUGH OFFICIAL RATE OF EXCHANGE FOR BIAFRAN CURRENCY IS 2.40 POUNDS TO ONE DOLLAR, A PACK OF CIGARETTES OR EIGHT OUNCES OF SALT BRING EIGHT POUNDS WHILE BRITISH GALLON OF PETROL IS WORTH TEN POUNDS, ACCORDING TO DREYER.

4. PLEASE NOTE IRISH RELIEF EFFORT OPERATING FROM LIBREVILLE CALLED AFRICA CONCERN, LTD., WHICH WORKS IN BIAFRA WITH CARITAS UNDER THE DIRECTION OF COUNT MAURICE FITZGERALD.

5. NO FURTHER INFO AVAILABLE ON JCA AIRCRAFT DOWNED AT ULI. NEWS RECEIVED BY RADIO COTONOU.

6. TENTATIVE TRAVEL PLANS THOMAS DEPARTING COTONOU 9/30/69 TO LIBREVILLE AND THEN TO SAO TOME WITH POSSIBLE ARRIVAL OCTOBER 1ST OR 2ND.

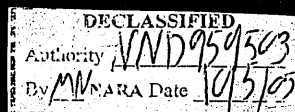
7. REQUEST INFO BY PRIORITY SERVICE WHEREABOUTS OF U/CF RSM PERSONNEL AND TENTATIVE SCHEDULES AS DIRECT COMMUNICATIONS DIFFICULT SAO TOME.

8. FYI: IF POSSIBLE DAWSON BRING MAIL FOR THOMAS OTHERWISE HOLD UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE.
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 COTONOU 00978 291148Z

46
ACTION: UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 07, EUR 08, IO 03, RSR 01, RSC 01, SSO 00, 1026 W
106230

0 291129Z SEP 69 ZPFL6
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU
TO AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2430
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMCONSUL AMSTERDAM

C O N F I D E N T I A L COTONOU 978

FOR U/CF

AMSTERDAM FOR DAWSON

SUBJECT: RSM THOMAS

REF: STATE 169816

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
XR ORG 7 U/CF

1. THOMAS DEPARTING COTONOU FOR LAGOS TUESDAY 9/30/69 ON
RKL 146 AND THEN LEAVING LAGOS 1750 ON UT 1781 ARRIVING
LIBREVILLE 2105 SAME DAY. RESERVATIONS THUS FAR CONFIRMED
TO DOUALA.

2. REQUEST LIBREVILLE OBTAIN AIRPORT VISA AND MAKE ARRANGEMENTS
FOR TRAVEL TO SAO TOME WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 1, 1969.

3. VISA
INFO: PASSPORT NUMBER X052688 ISSUED MAY 15, 1969
AT WASHINGTON DOB AUGUST 8, 1933 VINELAND NEW JERSEY.

4. LIBREVILLE PLEASE ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT BY IMMEDIATE
SERVICE.
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9-29-69

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Authority VND 959503
By M/MARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**

*8684
 9-29-69*

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08684 291719Z

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 ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00,
 DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01,
 PRS 01, SS 20, UCF 05, UPW 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28,

RSR 01, 144 W

108189

P R 291615Z SEP 69
 FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9223
 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 8684

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF - DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REF: LAGOS 8317

1. NOW THAT ICRC APPARENTLY HAS DECIDED ACCEPT BIAFRAN INVITATION SEND HIGH LEVEL DELEGATION TO BIAFRA ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS (GENEVA'S 3472), WE BELIEVE EVERY POSSIBLE EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE CREATE FAVORABLE CLIMATE FOR SUCCESS ICRC MISSION. RECENT REPORTS (GENEVA 3442) DESCRIBE GENERALLY DETERIORATING SITUATION IN BIAFRA AND ALTHOUGH SIGNS ARE FEW, REBELS MAY BE INCREASINGLY AMENABLE TO FINDING FACE-SAVING SOLUTION TO CURRENT IMPASSE WITH ICRC. REBELS UNDOUBTEDLY SEE THAT FAILURE AGREE ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS HAS BEEN PROPAGANDA BLOW TO BIAFRAN CAUSE. INVITATION TO ICRC TO SEND MISSION COULD BE HOPEFUL SIGN THAT BIAFRA WISHES FIND WAY OUT OF DILEMMA. SUCH MISSION ITSELF COULD PROVIDE FACE-SAVING REASON ACCEPT ICRC PROPOSAL.

2. IN RECENT WEEKS THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL INDICATIONS OF JCA INTEREST IN ICRC EFFORTS OBTAIN DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

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 Authority VND959503
 By MNARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08684 291719Z

(AND IF SUCCESSFUL, WORK OUT SIMILAR OPERATING ARRANGEMENT). AS OUTLINED REFTTEL, WE CONTINUE BELIEVE SEPT. 13 AGREEMENT REPRESENTS BEST HOPE OF ACHIEVING REGULARIZED, SUSTAINED AND SAFER RELIEF FLOW INTO BIAFRA. GENERAL BERG'S TALKS WITH ENAHORO IN ISTANBUL ARE IN PARTICULAR INDICATIVE OF JCA RECOGNITION OF NECESSITY NORMALIZE RELIEF FLIGHTS AND DESIRABILITY OF JOINING ICRC. SEPT. 26 CRASH OF AMERICAN-CREWED C-97 AT ULI, WHICH WE PRESUME ACCIDENTAL, HIGHLIGHTS EXTREME RISK OF OPERATING HAZARDOUS NIGHT FLIGHTS. THERE IS ALSO, OF COURSE, GROWING RISK OF NAF ACTION AGAINST NIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS.

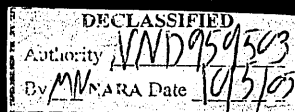
3. IF TIMELY JCA AND CARITAS ASSISTANCE COULD BE ENLISTED SUPPORT ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSAL WITH BIAFRANS, ICRC MISSION'S CHANCES OF SUCCESS WOULD APPEAR BE ENHANCED. AS INDICATED BY NAVILLE'S REQUEST FOR USG INTERVENTION WITH BIAFRANS (GENEVA 3472), ICRC REALIZES IT MUST HAVE STRONG SUPPORT OF INTERESTED GOVERNMENTS AND RELIEF GROUPS IF IT TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF CONVINCING BIAFRAN LEADERSHIP ACCEPT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. IT SEEMS TO US THEREFORE THAT NOW IS THE TIME WHEN JCA AND OTHERS HAVING OJUKWU'S EAR COULD MAKE INVALUABLE CONTRIBUTION BY EXERTING AS MUCH PRESSURE AS POSSIBLE IN SUPPORT OF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS.

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POC 27-9 BIAFRA-
Department of State
ALGERIA **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03480 281104Z

11
ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00, CCO 00,
JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, IO 13,
EUR 17, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCSE 00, UPW 01, UCF 05, E 15,
DOT 12, RSR 01, 167 W

0 281040Z SEP 69 ZFF-1
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3117

UNCLAS GENEVA 3480

FOLLOWING IS RELEASE FROM JCA CONCERNING CRASH OF C97:

QUOTE:

GENEVA, SEPT 27-- JOINT CHURCH AID (JCA) REGRETS TO
ANNOUNCE THE TOTAL LOSS OF A JCA/USA C97G STRATOFREIGHTER
REGISTRATION NUMBER 52676, OPERATED AND MAINTAINED BY FLIGHT
TEST RESEARCH OF LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA, USA. THE PLANE CRASHED
IN THE VICINITY OF ULI, BIAFRA, AT 18:34 HOURS ON SEPT 26.
THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CREW OF FIVE PERSONS WAS KILLED. NAMES MUST
BE WITHHELD UNTIL THE NEXT OF KIN HAVE BEEN INFORMED.

JCA/USA MADE ITS FIRST FLIGHT INTO BIAFRA ON 27 JAN 1969.
SINCE JOINING THE MERCY AIRLIFT TO ULI FROM THE PORTUGUESE
ISLAND OF SAO TOME, WEST AFRICA, THE JCA/USA PLANES HAVE MADE
APPROXIMATELY 800 SUCCESSFUL LANDINGS CARRYING SOME 12,000
METRIC TONS OF RELIEF SUPPLIES.

AN INVESTIGATION IS BEING MADE INTO THE CAUSE OF THE ACCIDENT
WHICH WAS NOT DUE TO MILITARY ACTION.

JCA, THE MAJOR REMAINING LIFELINE TO BIAFRA, HAS NEVER
SUSPENDED ITS AIRLIFT AND INsofar AS THE SITUATION PERMITS
WILL CONTINUE TO TRANSPORT URGENT PROTEIN FOOD AND MEDICAL
SUPPLIES FOR THE INNOCENT VICTIMS OF THE WAR, NOW IN ITS THIRD

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Authority VND 959503
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GENEVA-3480
9-28-69



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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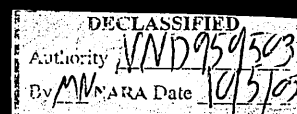
PAGE 02 GENEVA 03480 281104Z

YEAR:

WITH THE DEATH OF THESE FIVE BRAVE MEN TWENTY FIVE PERSONS
HAVE NOW PAID THE SUPREME SACRIFICE IN AN ENDEAVOR TO BRING
RELIEF TO THE CHILDREN AND WOMEN WHO CONTINUE TO SUFFER AS A
RESULT OF THE WAR. MAY THIS FURTHER WITNESS OF HUMAN SOLIDARITY
SERVE TO RENEW THE EFFORTS OF ALL TO FIND A SPEEDY PEACEFUL
SOLUTION TO THIS TRAGIC CONFLICT. UNQUOTE
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Department of State

TELEGRAM

XR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

XR DEF 12-5 BIAFRA

AV 12-2 GABON

CONFIDENTIAL 062

PAGE 01 LIBREV 00988 291125Z

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19:
ACTION: AFI 18

INFO: OCT 01, E 15, COM 08, UCF 05, MC 02, CAB 09, CIAE 00, DODE 00, DOT 12,

INR 07, NSAE 00, RSC 01, LI 03, SS 20, NSC 10, RSR 01, 112 W
106114

R 271010Z SEP 69

FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2833

CONFIDENTIAL LIBREVILLE 988

SUBJECT: PURCHASE OF DC-6

1. I RECEIVED A CALL FROM ROVING GABONESE AMBASSADOR FANGUINOVENY AT THE PRESIDENCY THIS MORNING REQUESTING MEETING AT EMBASSY. SUBJECT PROVED TO BE URGENT REQUEST FOR DEPARTMENT COMMERCE AUTHORIZATION PURCHASE DC-6B, REGISTRY OO-SQG, SERIES 44,695. PLANE IS CURRENTLY IN BELGIUM AND WILL BE PURCHASED UNDER NAME JEAN CLAUDE BERGEY, BELGIAN NATIONAL, BOITE POSTALE 695, LIBREVILLE. AMBASSADOR TOLD ME PRESIDENT BONGO APPROVED THIS PURCHASE AND REQUESTED INTERVENTION BY AMERICAN EMBASSY.

2. I SAID THAT OF COURSE I WOULD WIRE THE DEPARTMENT IMMEDIATELY TO REQUEST THIS AUTHORIZATION. HOWEVER, I TOLD FANGUINOVENY THAT WASHINGTON MIGHT ASK WHAT THE PURPOSE OF THE URGENT TRANSACTION WAS. FANGUINOVENY COULD ADD NOTHING. I ASKED IF IT WERE FOR THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL USE. HE HAD NO DETAILS. HE DID NOT KNOW WHO BERGEY WAS. I INDICATED THAT WASHINGTON MIGHT CONCLUDE THAT THE PLANE WOULD BE USED FOR BIAFRAN RELIEF OR ARMS LIFT. FANGUINOVENY REPEATED THAT HE HAD NO DETAILS EXCEPT FOREGOING PRESIDENTIAL INSTRUCTIONS.

3. I REPEATED FIRST SENTENCE PARA 2 ABOVE. GP 3:
FUNKHOUSER

(4)

CONFIDENTIAL

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Libreville 988
9-27-69

0562

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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27 SEP 69 00 22

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: AMEMBASSY PARIS **PRIORITY**

State:

REF: State 161986; Rome 6051

FOR BRUBECK

Department feels discussion legalization JCA flights premature
in view continuing impasse on ICRC flights. Therefore, would prefer
you not raising this question during balance your trip.

End.

RICHARDSON

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:GBSherry:gy

DRAFTING DATE

9/26/69

TEL. EXT.

29311

APPROVED BY:

AF/SN - Mr. Sherry

CLEARANCES:

U/CF - Mr. Dewey

AF - Amb. Moore

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Classification

FORM FS-413
4-68

0563

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

66



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State

TELEGRAM

9-27-69
8648

CONFIDENTIAL 418

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08648 271238Z

53
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODF 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, SCS 04, SCA 01,

SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, RSR 01, 150 W
----- 100212

R 271205Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9209
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 8648

SUBJECT: NIGERIA-RELIEF SURVEY

REF: STATE 162914

LETTER WITH DELETIONS ACCEPTED BY DEPT DELIVERED OMO-BARE
TODAY WITH APPROPRIATE INDICATION OUR INTEREST IN EARLY
REPLY. OMO-BARE EXPRESSED HOPE HE BE ABLE GIVE US REPLY
MONDAY, SEP 29. GP-3
OLSON

①

CONFIDENTIAL

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0564

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By MNARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State

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TR Pol 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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CONFIDENTIAL 470

PAGE 01 OSLO 03885 271339Z

54
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,
INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12,
SR 01, ORM 03, UPW 01, RSR 01, 151 W

R 271100Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY OSLO
TO AMEMBASSY PARIS
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2863
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L OSLO 3885

PARIS: FOR BRUBECK

SUBJECT: BRUBECK VISIT

REF: STATE 154875; BRUBECK-RIDGWAY TELCON

1. FOREIGN OFFICE UNDER SECRETARY FRITHJOF JACOBSEN AND THORVALD STOLTENBERG, SECRETARY TO FOREIGN MINISTER LYNG, WILL ARRIVE IN PARIS AT APPROXIMATELY 1815 ON SEPTEMBER 29. THE PLANNED DINNER/DISCUSSION AT 2045 FITS THEIR SCHEDULE AND THEY WILL CHECK WITH THE NORWEGIAN EMBASSY FOR WORD ON THE LOCALE.

2. JACOBSEN AND STOLTENBERG ARE LEAVING OSLO WITH ONLY A GENERAL IDEA OF WHERE THEIR TRAVELS WILL TAKE THEM, BUT THEY ARE CONSIDERING STOPS IN GENEVA, POSSIBLY NEW YORK AND, IF THEY ARE ABLE TO OVERCOME FOREIGN MINISTER LYNG'S FEARS FOR THEIR SAFETY, THEY MAY TRY TO FLY INTO BIAFRA. THEIR JOURNEY IS IN PURSUIT OF THE CHARGE THEY HAVE FROM LYNG AND, AS A RESULT OF THE REYKJAVIK MEETING, FROM THE OTHER NORDIC FOREIGN MINISTERS, TO KEEP UP-TO-DATE ON THE POLITICS OF THE NIGERIA CONFLICT AS WELL AS THE RELIEF SITUATION.

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Authority VND 95/503
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



Pol 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 474

PAGE 01 PARIS 14799 271357Z

53:
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, JPM 04, NSC 10, SS 20, RSC 01, CIAE 00, INR 07,
NSAE 00, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, ACDA 16, UPW 01, UCF 05, RSR 01,
/123 W

R 271235Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7498
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA
CSMISSION USUN NEW YORK 2748

SECRET PARIS 14799

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA: BRUBECK TALKS IN PARIS (II): QUAI

1. BRUBECK, POLCOUNSELOR AND EMBOFF HAD MEETING FOLLOWED BY DINNER SEPTEMBER 26 WITH QUAI DIRECTOR AFRICA-MIDEAST CLAUDE LEBEL AND HIS DEPUTY FOR NON-FRANCOPHONE AFRICA PIERRE CARRAUD. (ASSEMBLY DEPUTY JACQUES MARETTE JOINED GROUP AT DINNER.)

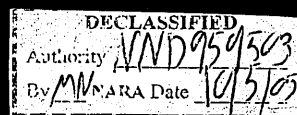
2. AFTER BRUBECK OUTLINED PURPOSE HIS TRIP AND DESIRE MAINTAIN CLOSE CONSULTATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH GOF, EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ENSUED FROM WHICH FOLLOWING PRINCIPAL POINTS EMERGED ON FRENCH SIDE:

(A) QUAI FAVORS CREATION AD HOC COMMITTEE OF SMALL NUMBER AFRICAN CHIEFS OF STATE TO SET STAGE FOR NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN FMG AND BIAFRANS. LEBEL SUGGESTED GROUP OF FOUR STATES, COMPRISING TWO CLOSE FRIENDS OF EACH SIDE. MOST LIKELY TO BE ACCEPTABLE, HE THOUGHT, WOULD BE HOUPHOUET AND NYERERE FOR BIAFRANS, AHIDJO OR DIORI AND TUBMAN FOR FMG. IDEA HAD BEEN REVIVED LAST MONTH BY OJUKWU LETTER TO BROCKWAY AND SUBSEQUENT POST-ADDIS PRESS STATEMENT. LEBEL ENVISAGED AD HOC COMMITTEE SERVING ESSENTIALLY AS "CATALYST" FOR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS AND

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 PARIS 14799 271357Z

POSSIBLY PLAYING LATER ROLE IN CEASE-FIRE SUPERVISION.

(B) LEBEL AGREED MAJOR POWERS WOULD HAVE TO PLAY KEY SUPPORTING ROLE IN URGING PARTIES TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS. HE THOUGHT EVEN USSR MIGHT DRAW BACK IF SEVERAL MORE AFRICAN STATES RECOGNIZED BIAFRA, SO THAT SOVIET POLITICAL GAIN WITH OAU STATES AS RESULT ALL-OUT SUPPORT FMG WOULD BECOME LESS CLEAR-CUT. HOWEVER, LEBEL UNABLE SUGGEST WHICH OTHER STATES MIGHT RECOGNIZE BIAFRA AT THIS POINT, THOUGH HE SAID SENGHOR MIGHT WELL HAVE DONE SO HAD HOUPHOUET NOT MOVED FIRST AND THUS PUT SENGHOR IN POSITION WHERE HE WOULD HAVE APPEARED BE FOLLOWING HOUPHOUET'S LEAD.

(C) LEBEL REVIEWED BIAFRAN OBJECTIONS TO ICRC RELIEF PLAN THOUGH HE ADMITTED DANGER TO ULI DID NOT SEEM VERY REAL (CARRAUD STRONGLY DISAGREED THIS POINT AND THOUGHT DANGER GENUINE.) DESPITE EXPRESSIONS BIAFRAN CONCERN, HE ADDED NEW SUGGESTION THAT THREAT MIGHT LIE IN ABILITY FMG CARRY OUT AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHIC MISSION OVER ULI UNDER COVER ICRC FLIGHTS, BUT THIS SEEMED RATHER STRAINED EFFORT BY LEBEL FIND JUSTIFICATION WHICH MIGHT CARRY MORE CONVICTION THAN THOSE ADVANCED BY BIAFRANS.

(D) SCHUMANN-STEWART MEETING IN NEW YORK TOUCHED ONLY BRIEFLY ON BIAFRA, THOUGH LEBEL MADE CLEAR GOF VERY MUCH INTERESTED IN TALKING WITH BRITISH (AS WELL AS US) ON BIAFRA. LEBEL COMMENTED THAT UK SEEMED INSISTENT ON "ONE NIGERIA" FORMULA WHILE GOF POLICY STRESSED "SELF DETERMINATION" FOR BIAFRAN PEOPLE, BUT BRUBECK SAID HE THOUGHT THAT UK WAS LESS COMMITTED TO ANY PARTICULAR SOLUTION THAN LEBEL IMPLIED.

(E) LEBEL SAID THAT REFERENCE IN SCHUMANN'S UNGA SPEECH TO "CEASE-FIRE FOLLOWED BY NEGOTIATIONS" AS ROAD TO PEACE IN NIGERIA SHOULD NOT BE READ LITERALLY. NO AFRICAN EXPERT ACCOMPANIED SCHUMANN, AND QUAI EFFORT TO COMMENT TELEGRAPHICALLY AND CHANGE PHRASE TO "CEASE-FIRE AND NEGOTIATIONS" HAD BEEN TOO GREAT. GREATER FLEXIBILITY WAS INTENDED, LEBEL SAID, AND SPEECH SHOULD BE SO INTERPRETED.
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Authority	VND 959503
By	MM NARA
Date	10/5/05



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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 PARIS 14798 271417Z

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ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODF 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03,
SCS 04, SCA 01, ACDA 16, E 15, AID 28, UCF 05, UPW 01, RSR 01, 187 W
----- 100531

R 271235Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7497
INFO: AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

SECRET PARIS 14798

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA: BRUBECK TALKS IN PARIS (I)

1. BRUBECK AND EMBOFFS HAD SEPARATE MEETINGS SEPTEMBER 26 WITH FIGARO CORRESPONDENT JEAN-FRANCOIS CHAUVEL AND ATIONAL ASSEMBLY DEPUTY JACQUES MARETTE, OUTSPOKEN ADVOCATES ALL-OUT FRENCH SUPPORT FOR BIAFRA.

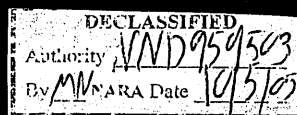
2. CHAUVEL EXPLAINED GOF SUPPORT FOR BIAFRA IN TERMS ELABORATE "GRAND DESIGN" THESIS THAT MAP OF AFRICA IN PROCESS BEING REMADE TO CORRESPOND MORE CLOSELY WITH ETHNIC AND POLITICAL REALITIES. "GRAND DESIGN" AS RELATED TO BIAFRA HAS TWO PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS (A) CRATION OF MORE LOGICAL UNITS, SUCH AS BIAFRA ITSELF AND (B) NEW RELATIONSHIPS AMONG AFRICAN STATES, SUCH AS ANGLPHONE-FRANCOPHONE COOPERATION AMONG FOUR STATES WHICH HAVE RECOGNIZED BIAFRA AND BLACK-WHIE COOPERATION INDUCED BY PRESENCE SOUTH AFRICA AMONG BIAFRA'S FRIENDS AND SUPPLIERS.

3. ASKED WHETHER THIS VIEW AS WIDELY SHARED WITHIN GOF, CHAUVEL SAID IT WAS DE GAULLE VIEW AND WAS HELD "TO CONSIDERABLE DEGREE" BY FOCCART BUT IMPLIED THAT OTHER FRENCH POLICY-MAKERS.

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LESS IDEOLOGICALLY MOTIVATED. SCHUMANN, CHAUVEL COMMENTED, SIMPLY TAKES ORDER FROM ELYSEE ON AFRICAN POLICY, WHICH IS ESSENTIALLY FORMULATED IN CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN FOCCART AND POMPIDOU IN WHICH FORMER PLAYS LEADING ROLE. CHAUVEL ALSO RATED DEBRE AS STRONG INDEPENDENT FIGURE IN AFRICAN POLICY FORMULATION.

4. BOTH CHAUVEL AND MARETTE JUDGE HOUPHOUET TO BE STRONG SUPPORTER BIAFRAN CAUSE QUITE APART FROM GOF POSITION. CHAUVEL SAID THAT HOUPHOUET MAINTAINS CLOSE CONTACT WITH BIAFRANS THROUGH DR. KENNETH DIKE, WHO SPENDS MUCH OF HIS TIME IN ABIDJAN.

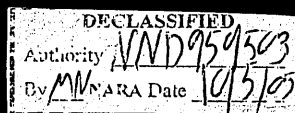
5. CHAUVEL AND MARETTE BOTH RATE OJUKWU VERY HIGHLY IN TERMS HIS PERSONAL LEADERSHIP ABILITIES AND CONSIDER HIM VIRTUALLY UNCHALLENGED WITHIN BIAFRA. CHAUVEL BELIEVES OJUKWU'S STRENGTH RESTS IN LARGE PART ON FACT HE IS LEADER FREELY CHOSEN BY DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURE OF CLAN REPRESENTATIVES. MARETTE FEELS COOKEY IS MOST INFLUENTIAL OF OJUKWU'S LIEUTENANTS, WHILE CHAUVEL ATTRIBUTES SUBSTANTIAL INFLUENCE TO KENNETH DIKE BECAUSE OF LATTER'S SCRUPULOUS HONESTY AND INVALUABLE CONTACTS WITH OUTSIDE WORLD. MOJEKWU, ACCORDING TO CHAUVEL, IS DISHONEST BUT TOLERATED BY OJUKWU BECAUSE OF TECHNICAL BILITY AND CLOSE CLAN TIES.

6. BOTH MEN ARGUE BIAFRANS WILL CONTINUE STRUGGLE AS LONG AS THEY HAVE WEAPONS WITH WHICH TO RESIST. THEY DESCRIBED LOCAL PRODUCTIONS OF WEAPONS (OF WHICH MARETTE HAD PHOTOS) AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS, INCLUDING CONSTRUCTION NEW REFINERY BETWEEN ULI AND OWERRI WHICH CAPABLE MEETING MOST BIAFRAN NEEDS FOR AUTOMOTIVE FUEL AND LUBRICANTS. CHAUVEL ILLUSTRATED BIAFRAN FIRMNESS WITH STORY OF IRISH PRIEST WHO MET PLANE ON WHICH HE ARRIVED AND EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT IT CARRIED ONLY FOOD AND NO ARMS.

7. PRESSED BY BRUBECK ON REASONS FOR BIAFRAN TURNDOWN OF ICRC RELIEF FLIGHT PLAN, BOTH MEN REITERATED STANDARD BIAFRAN ARGUMENTS RE INSPECTION AND SECURITY GUARANTEES BUT WITHOUT MUCH CONVICTION. IN ESSENCE, BOTH CONTENDED STARVATION NOT REALLY A SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IN BIAFRAN EYES, WHILE POLITICAL AND MILITARY ADVANTAGE ESSENTIAL TO SUCCESSFUL PURSUIT OF CONFLICT. BOTH ALSO NOTED ICRC "HATED" WITHIN BIAFRA, WHICH PRESUMABLY ALSO FACTOR IN TURNDOWN.

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PAGE 03 PARIS 14798 271417Z

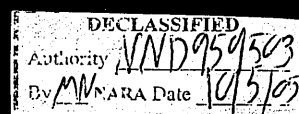
8. CHAUVEL AND MARETTE BOTH ARGUED THAT FMG SERIOUSLY WEAKENED BY WAR AND THAT ITS COLLAPSE INCREASINGLY IMMINENT. BRUBECK COMMENTED THAT HE HAD FOUND LAGOS PERHAPS UNDULY COMPLACENT ABOUT MILITARY PROSPECTS, BUT THERE NO SIGN NIGERIA WILL BE UNABLE CARRY ON CONFLICT FOR INDEFINITE FUTURE. CHAUVEL AND MARETTE BOTH SAID THAT FMG POSITION WILL BE FURTHER UNDERMINED IN NEAR FUTURE AS BIAFRANS STEP UP ATTACKS ON OIL INSTALLATIONS, WHICH THEY SEPARATELY REPORTED AS RECENT FIRM DECISION BY BIAFRAN LEADERSHIP. CHAUVEL, GOING ONE STEP FURTHER, ARGUED THAT BIAFRANS STILL HAD HOPES OF GAINING FRESH MILITARY ADVANTAGE, IN PARTICULAR WITH NEW THRUST TOWARD PORT HARCOURT WHICH HE APPEARED SUGGEST WAS LIKELY IN NEAR FUTURE.

9. WITH REGARD PROSPECTS FOR SOLUTION CHAUVEL DISMISSED QUESTION OF NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AS "JOKE" BUT MARETTE BELIEVES NEGOTIATIONS POSSIBLE. IN "PERSONAL" WRITTEN BRIEF (BRUBECK CARRYING FULL TEST), MARETTE SUGGESTS AS KEY ELEMENT OF PEACE FORMULA THAT FMG RECOGNIZE BIAFRAN SOVEREIGNTY AND BIAFRA SIMULTANEOUSLY YIELD ELEMENTS ITS SOVEREIGNTY TO NEW "CONFEDERATION" OR "COMMUNITY" STRUCTURE. MARETTE FORMULA WOULD INCLUDE BIAFRAN RETENTION SEPARATE ARMY, POLICE, FLAG, AND OVERSEAS DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION, AS WELL AS INTERNATIONALLY-SUPERVISED PLEBISCITE IN PORTIONS FORMER EASTERN REGION NOW IN FMG HANDS. MARETTE ARGUES THAT US, UK AND FRANCE MUST TAKE LEAD IN BRINGING PARTIES TO AGREEMENT, AND DISMISSES PEACE EFFORTS BY AFRICAN STATES AS DOOMED TO FAILURE. MARETTE ALSO VERBALLY PROPOSED INFORMAL, "UNOFFICIAL" TEAM OF PARLIAMENTARIANS FROM THREE POWERS TO MAKE INITIAL SOUNDINGS OF BOTH PARTIES, AND OFFERED PERSONALLY ACT AS FRENCH MEMBER SUCH TEAM. MARETTE SAID HE IS SEEING POMPIDOU OCTOBER 9 AND INTENDS PROPOSE PROJECT TO HIM AT THAT TIME.

10. COMMENT. MARETTE AND CHAUVEL ARE REPEAT VISITORS TO BIAFRAN ENCLAVE (MARETTE MOST RECENTLY IN JULY, TRIP HE SAYS WAS UNDERTAKEN AT GOF REQUEST), FEEL CLOSE PERSONAL TIES TO OJUKWU, AND ARE IN CLOSE AND REGULAR CONTACT WITH BIAFRAN REPS AND ITINERANT BIAFRAN OFFICIALS IN PARIS. THEY REPRESENT THE PRO-BIAFRAN EXTREME IN SPECTRUM OF FRENCH POSITIONS ON THIS ISSUE, AND THEIR REMARKS SHOULD BE READ IN THAT CONTEXT.

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PAGE 04 PARIS 14798 271417Z

INDEED, WHILE QUAI DIRECTOR AFRICA-MIDEAST LEBEL SUGGESTED
MARETTE AS DEPUTY WHOM BRUBECK SHOULD MEET, HE WAS CAREFULLY
POINT OUT IN QUAI MEETING (SEPT 10) THAT MARETTE VIEWS "DO
NOT REPRESENT POSITION GOF" ON BIAFRA.
SHRIVER

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0571

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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27 SEP 69 00 36z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: AMEMBASSY LAGOS

INFO: AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY LISBON
 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 USUN

REF: USUN 3239

POL 27-9 Biafra Nigeria

SUBJECT: Newsom-Arikpo Conversation

1. Penultimate sentence para 2 reftel should, says Assistant Secretary Newsom, be corrected to read: QTE no more than four aircraft in operation at any one time END QTE in lieu of QTE number of flights will not increase ~~END~~ QTE.

End.

RICHARDSON

DRAFTED BY: *JS*
 AF/SN:GBSherry:gw

DRAFTING DATE: 9/26/69
 TEL. EXT.: 29311

APPROVED BY: *JS*
 AF - Mr. Newsom

CLEARANCES:

SECRET
 Classification

FORM FS-413
 4-68

0572

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 Authority: VND 954503
 By: MVA Date: 10/5/05



INDICATE:

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Department of State

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27 SEP 69 21 09z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy OTTAWA

INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
US Mission GENEVA
Amembassy LAGOS
Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy PARIS

STATE

1. French Embassy reps (Leprette and Jacques, Minister and Counselor, respectively) called on Dep Assistant Secretary Moore Saturday morning, September 27. Call was follow-up to dinner conversation at French Embassy preceding evening during which Acting Secretary discussed Nigerian/Biafran relief problem with Beaumarchais, French Foreign Office.
2. Leprette stated FonMin Schumann had been interested in Acting Secretary's statement that US might soon be obliged make statement placing finger of blame for failure of ICRC efforts to bring about initiation of daylight

DRAFTED BY:

AF:CRMoore:ls

DRAFTING DATE

9/27/69

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22446

APPROVED BY:

AF - CRRMoore

CLEARANCES:

U/CF - ~~Amex Ferguson~~ Col. Deway

AF/SN - Mr. Stokes (draft)

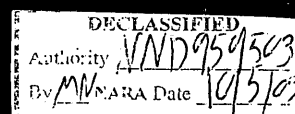
S/PC - Mr. Ruser

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ACTION:

flights in Biafra but had not yet done so in view
possible Canadian observer proposal that might help
break impasse. French, said Leprette, would welcome
clarification of this statement.

3. Moore stated that USG and other governments, including
we believed GOF, were deeply concerned over impasse in
ICRC efforts to initiate daytime airlift into Biafra.
Principal obstacle to date has been Biafran insistence on
third country guarantees. USG had made public statement
which we felt should have reassured Biafran authorities
and a number of other governments had done likewise.
Biafrans had not found these statements acceptable. At
some point US would be obliged to make a public statement
on this situation which would explain the obstruction to
what we believe represents a reasonable and practical
arrangement for bringing relief to Biafra. Our

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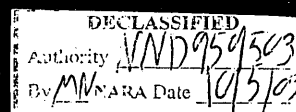
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ACTION:

principal interest, however, is the initiation of daylight flights and as long as there are hopeful developments that should make them possible we do not want statement to prevent this.

4. Turning to Canadian observer proposal Moore stated that Canadians had offered observers sometime before the ICRC concluded its agreement with the FMG and several other governments had indicated a possible willingness to supply observers. Hence, he understood Canadians and some other governments as well had been giving thought as to whether their offer of observers could contribute to ^{providing} ~~provide~~ further reassurances to the ^{thus helping} ~~contributing to~~ Biafrans and ~~contributing to~~ break the impasse. We did not know, however, that any specific proposal had as yet been decided upon by the Canadians and if they should decide upon one it would, of course, be up to them to

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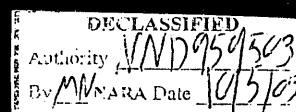
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ACTION:

take it up with the parties concerned. Moore also added we understood ICRC was giving serious consideration to sending a delegation to Biafra for further discussions on daylight flights and this too was a development that could help in breaking the impasse.

5. Leprette asked how Canadian observers would be used. Moore pleaded ignorance of any details of specific arrangements contemplated by Canadians although mentioned that early ICRC proposals had included the possibility that observers might ride on the relief planes. Leprette also inquired about possible Biafran reactions. Moore replied this was hard to judge. Certainly Biafrans have been very difficult on the guarantee issue. US had gone as far as it could go on its own statement. At one time we had understood that the GOF itself had in mind making a statement but we are not aware that one had been

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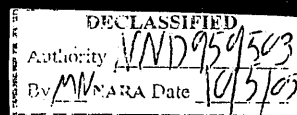
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issued.

6. Leprette again asked if Beaumarchais understood properly that USG would have to make a statement placing the blame on Biafra if latter continued to refuse present arrangements. Moore replied US would undoubtedly want to set the record straight but its principal interest is in the possibility that may exist for agreement on daylight flights. He expressed hope of USG that other governments close to Biafra would encourage Biafran acceptance of what seems to be a reasonable and practical plan even if not ideal for either government.

7. Embassy Ottawa authorized inform GOC of above.

GP-3

END

RICHARDSON

DRAFTED BY:

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APPROVED BY:

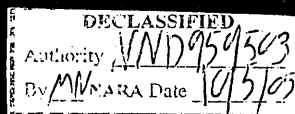
CLEARANCES:

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Classification

FORM DS-322
4-68

0577



75



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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CONFIDENTIAL 306

PAGE 01 THE HA 03752 271007Z

16
ACTION EUR 22

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, RSR 01,

AID 28, PC 04, SR 01, ORM 03, UPW 01, /154 W

099645

R 270820Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4628
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USUN NEWYORK 302

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 3752

SUBJ: POSSIBLE UN CONSIDERATION OF NIGERIA

REF: LAGOS 8579

1. FMG IMPRESSION THAT LUNS MAY RAISE NIGERIAN QUESTION IN UN POSSIBLY BASED ON HINT HE DROPPED WITH REPORTERS UPON DEPARTURE FOR NEW YORK THAT HE MIGHT HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY ABOUT IT THERE. MFA HAS IN FACT DRAFTED PASSAGE ON NIGERIA FOR LUNS SPEECH TO GA, NOW APPARENTLY SCHEDULED FOR OCTOBER 1 OR 2. HOWEVER, DRAFTING OFFICER ASSURES US THAT THERE IS NO PRESENT INTENTION SUGGEST UN ACTION. DRAFT TREATS ISSUE IN GENERAL TERMS AND MAKES APPEAL TO THOSE CONCERNED TO DO ALL POSSIBLE TO GET NEEDED FLOW OF RELIEF SUPPLIES GOING AGAIN. (WE ASSUME LUNS MIGHT ALSO REITERATE GON OFFER TO PROVIDE INSPECTION PERSONNEL FOR AIRLIFT.)

2. AS REPORTED THE HAGUE 3553, GON MIGHT BE FORCED BY DOMESTIC PRESSURES TO SAY MORE SHOULD THERE BE INITIATIVE BY SCANDINAVIANS OR OTHERS. HOWEVER, IT HAS BEEN ABLE TO BLUNT RECENT DEMANDS BY VARIOUS PARLIAMENTARIANS FOR AN INITIATIVE IN UN BY REFERRING TO LUNDS-U THANT EXCHANGE OF LETTERS DURING SUMMER (THE HAGUE A-409, AUGUST 28) IN WHICH LATTER REPORTEDLY CONFIRMED THAT AFRICAN OBJECTIONS WOULD PREVENT INSCRIPTION OF ITEM ON GA OR SC AGENDAS. GP-4.
MIDDENDORF

CONFIDENTIAL

7

0578

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

66



CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

Department of State
TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

163914

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163914

26 SEP 69 1909z

INDICATE:
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☐ CHARGE TO

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

INFO : USMission GENEVA
Amembassy LONDON
USUN

State _____

SUBJECT: Nigeria-Relief Survey

REF: A) State 162050; (B) Lagos 8584

1. Department's decision undertake survey took into account many factors including some not specified reftel A. Believe, for instance, early survey analysis would make it easier consult with FMG on ways to get NRC/Rehab Comm off to best start managing relief operations.

2. Department appreciates Embassy's views and concurs in deletions para 6, reftel B. Request Embassy deliver amended letter to Omo-Bare. Despite deletions, Department hopes his reaction may permit commencement visit soonest after September 30.

Gp-1

END

RICHARDSON

(4)

DRAFTED BY: U/CF: AEDewey/AF/SN: BAS tokes: 11	DRAFTING DATE 9/26/69	TEL. EXT. 23256	APPROVED BY: U/CF: Amb. Ferguson
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CLEARANCES:
AF - Amb Moore
AF/SN - Mr. Sherry
AID/AFR/CWA - Mr. North

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

FORM FS-413
4-68

0579

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Authority: VND 954/543
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

37



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 241

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03453 260911Z

14
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, USIE 00, /071 W
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P R 260836Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3093
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

S E C R E T GENEVA 3453

LIMDIS

STATE FOR U/CF

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA/CROSS RIVER

REF: TELECON GUTMAN/DEWEY SEPTEMBER 23.

1. WE SAW HOLLIST YESTERDAY. HE REGRETTED ABSENCE OF REPLY FROM LAGOS TO HIS CABLE OF LAST WEEK. HOLLIST EXPLAINED THAT PRACTICALLY NO RPT NO SENIOR EXSTAFF OFFICERS IN NIGERIA AT PRESENT.

2. OBI IN TELECON YESTERDAY STATED HE HAD NO REPEAT NO NEW RPT NEW INSTRUCTIONS FROM OVERRI BUT ADDED HE HAD THOUGHT NEXT MEETING WAS SUPPOSED TAKE PLACE APPROXIMATELY TEN DAYS AFTER ADJOURNMENT LAST SESSION.

3. DUE OBI'S SPEECH HABIT IMPOSSIBLE NOT RPT NOT MISS STACCATO PHRASES BUT BELIEVE HE SAID HE DID NOT REPEAT NOT INTEND EARLY RETURN VISIT TO GENEVA.
BASSIN

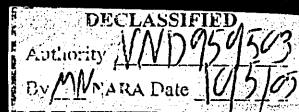
Geneva 3453
9-26-69

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SECRET

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L I M D I S
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screeners

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MONTHLY COUNT 914

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MilRep
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Task Force

AF 5
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EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

ACDA 5

AID 12

Principals and
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Burned 8/5/69

0581

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Authority VMD959503
By MVA/NARA Date 10/5/05

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Department of State
TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 BIARRA-

163892

NIGERIA

INDICATE:
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26 SEP 69 10 51z

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ACTION: US Mission GENEVA

STATE

TA #000152, App. 19-1101006, All. OCX-1001 for Ronald Davidson is amended to authorize return to Washington, D.C. o/a November 1, 1969.

End

RICHARDSON

DRAFTED BY: *RAA*
S/S-EX:Raymer:jfp

DRAFTING DATE 9/26/69	TEL. EXT. 22293	APPROVED BY: S/S-EX - Robert L. Mott
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CLEARANCES:

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FORM DS-322
4-68

0582

DECLASSIFIED
Authority: VND 959503
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

(11)



INDICATE:

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Classification

Department of State POL 27-9 BIAFRA-
NIGERIA
TELEGRAM

163816

NR ORG 17 U/CF
26 SEP 69 15 50z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy COTONOU

PRIORITY

STATE _____

INFO: Amembassy GENEVA

U/CF for Thomas

1. Due delay departure C-97 ferry flight, Dawson tentatively scheduled arrive Sao Tome via Martinair charter on October 1. You are to join there as close as ~~pos~~ possible to that date. Please advise as soon as your travel schedule is firm.

END.

RICHARDSON

(3)

DRAFTED BY:
U/CF:AE Dewey

DRAFTING DATE
9/26/69

TEL. EXT.
23256

APPROVED BY:
U/CF:Amb. Ferguson

CLEARANCES:
AF/CW - Mr. Clarke

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4-68

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03454 260943Z

17
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, EUR 17,

SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, UPW 01, RSR 01, 150 W

092045

R 260836Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3094
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ROME

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STATE FOR U/CF

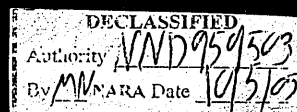
1. ACCOMPANIED BY THE NEW RPT NEW U/CF REP I MADE MY INTRODUCTORY CALL UPON FATHER DE RIEDMATTEN, HOLY SEE REPRESENTATIVE, WHO STATED THAT DURING HIS VISIT TO ROME LAST WEEK RECEIVED ORDERS FROM HIS HOLINESS TO EXPLORE ALL POSSIBILITIES FOR BREAKING IMPASSE ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. FATHER DE RIEDMATTEN EXPLAINED REASONS FOR THE HOLY FATHER'S CONCERN IN NIGERIA-BIAFRA AFFAIR ARE: (A) HUMANITARIAN, (B) FEAR ICRC MAY RECEIVE BLOW IN NIGERIAN AFFAIR WHICH MAY LIMIT ITS ABILITY TO CARRY OUT SERVICES IN OTHER PLACES AND TIMES.

2. HOLY FATHER ALSO ASKED HIM TO EXPLORE WITH VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS POSSIBILITY OF CONSTRUCTING AIR FIELD EXCLUSIVELY FOR RELIEF ACTIVITIES. WE OBSERVED THAT CHURCHES AND ICRC OPPOSED PLAN IN PAST BECAUSE CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS WOULD HAVE TO REPLACE FOOD. WE INDICATED HOWEVER THAT ICRC EXEC COMMITTEE WHICH MEETING THIS AFTERNOON MAY DECIDE TO SEND A RANKING OFFICIAL TO BIAFRA WHO COULD PERHAPS PURSUE AIR FIELD QUESTION AS WELL AS ANY OTHER. WE ADDED THAT PAST EXPERIENCE MAKE SUCCESS DOUBTFUL.

3. FATHER DE RIEDMATTEN HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH OTHER REPS IN GENEVA INTERESTED IN THE RELIEF QUESTION. ALL

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GENEVA-3454
9-26-69



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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03454 260943Z

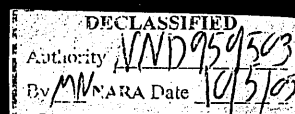
SEEMED TO BE WAITING FOR NEXT MOVES OF ICRC AND USG.

4. THIS P.M. VATICAN REP WILL MEET BISHOP SWANSTROM WHO CURRENTLY GENEVA.

COMMENT: MESSAGES FROM VATICAN ARE: (1) THE HOLY SEE CONCERNED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF ICRC FAILURE IN NIGERIA WHICH COULD HAVE REPERCUSSIONS ON ITS EFFECTIVENESS ELSEWHERE. (2) THE VATICAN IS LOOKING TO THE USG FOR IDEAS.
BASSIN.

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 097

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03472 261842Z

47
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, EUR 17, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00,
DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01,
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RSR 01, /144 W

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P R 261750Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3109
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

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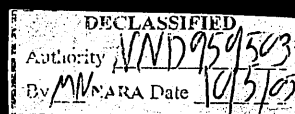
SUBJ: NIGERIA-DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

1. ACCOMPANIED BY U/CF REPS I MADE MY INTRODUCTORY VISIT TO MARCEL NAVILLE, PRESIDENT OF ICRC. AT TIME OF OUR VISIT MEETING OF ICRC EXEC COMMITTEE IN PROGRESS WITH FREYMOND NOT NAVILLE CHAIRING. NAVILLE SEEMED RESIGNED, PHILOSOPHICAL BUT WITHOUT CLEAR NOTION OF WHAT TO DO ABOUT BIAFRAN SITUATION AND ESPECIALLY ABOUT OBI'S NON-PRODUCTIVE VISIT. INVITATION FROM OBI FOR RANKING ICRC OFFICIAL TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS IN BIAFRA ONLY REMAINING. MOVE LEFT FOR ICRC. NAVILLE STATED HE PERSONALLY WILLING TO GO BUT REFUSES TO HAVE PRESTIGE OF ICRC PRESIDENCY STAINED BY MISSION WHICH MAY LEAD ONLY TO BOOSTING BIAFRAN POLITICAL POSITION AND NOT IN RELIEVING SUFFERING OF WAR VICTIMS. HE EMPHASIZED THAT HIGH RANKING OFFICIAL (UNNAMED) WOULD GO BUT NOT HIMSELF.

2. HE EXPRESSED ASTONISHMENT AT BIAFRAN POLITICAL PRAGMATISM WHEREBY THEY ATTEMPT TO TRADE LIVES OF OWN PEOPLE FOR ELUSIVE POLITICAL GAINS. HE STATED THAT SOME DAY BIAFRANS WOULD REALIZE THAT RELIEF AND WORLD CONCERN FOR RELIEF ARE THEIR REAL STRENGTHS. HE OBSERVED THAT SECSTATE STATEMENT WAS STRONGEST AND THAT

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03472 261842Z

NO GOVERNMENT WOULD DO OR SAY MORE ON REQUEST OF GUARANTEES.

3. TO MY QUESTION ABOUT WHAT HE THOUGHT USG COULD DO FURTHER HE REPLIED THAT THERE COULD BE FAVORABLE RESULTS IF A HIGH RANKING US OFFICIAL SUCH AS SECSTATE CALLED IN OTUE, BIAFRAN OBSERVER IN NY, AND ANGRILY REPEAT ANGRILY SPOKE TO HIM OF BIAFRA'S COUNTERPRODUCTIVE POLICIES. I EXPLAINED THAT EVEN ANGRY SECSTATE WOULD NOT CALL IN REPRESENTATIVE OF ENTITY WE DO NOT RECOGNIZE. WE ARE HOWEVER APPLYING PRESSURE THROUGH INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS SYMPATHETIC TO BIAFRA SUCH AS SENATOR GOODELL. NAVILLE REPLIED THAT WORLD LISTENS WHEN USG BECOMES ANGRY.

4. NAVILLE CLOSED BY EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR OUR CLOSE COOPERATION.

5. TODAY U/CF REPS CALLED UPON BASSET, WHO STATED EXEC COMMITTEE MEETING DECIDED TO SEND HIGH RANKING OFFICIAL AND MOST EXPERIENCED DIPLOMAT ON ICRC COMMITTEE TO BIAFRA. AT FIRST BASSET STATED PRESIDENT WOULD NOT GO BUT TOWARD END CONVERSATION HE SAID FLATLY NAVILLE, DIPLOMAT AND HIMSELF WOULD FLY TO BIAFRA NEXT WEEK IF ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE MADE. BASSET EXPLAINED THAT FREYMOND BECAUSE OF HIS DIRECTORSHIP OF GRADUATE INSTITUTE, WOULD BE UNABLE HEAD DELEGATION.

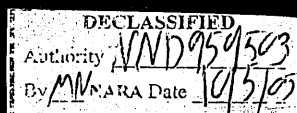
7. ICRC WOULD INSIST THAT DELEGATION FLY TO BIAFRA DURING DAYLIGHT AND IN OWN PLANE. TRIP WOULD BE ONE OR TWO DAYS FOR RANKING OFFICIAL AND BASSET WHEREAS ICRC DIPLOMAT WOULD REMAIN LONGER IF REQUIRED.

8. BASSET OBSERVED THAT ICRC SHOULD NEVER HAVE BECOME INVOLVED IN GUARANTEES QUESTION AS IT IS NOT WITHIN HUMANITARIAN PURVIEW.

9. BOTH NAVILLE AND BASSET STATED THAT INSPITE OF LITTLE HOPE FOR SUCCESS OF BIAFRA TRIP ICRC WOULD BE REMISS IN ITS DUTIES IF IT DID NOT EXPLORE EVERY REASONABLE OPPORTUNITY.
BASSIN

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

Pol 27.9 Rofm - Nigeria

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCO 00, FILE 01, EUR 17, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03,

UCF 05, UPW 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01,

AID 28, 157 W

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R 260241Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION USUN NEWYORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8850
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LISBON
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

SECRET USUN 3239

SECTO 56

1. IN DISCUSSION WITH ARIKPO NEWSOM WELCOMED FMG POSI-
TION ON RELIEF FLIGHTS AND EXPRESSED HOPE ICRC COULD
PERSUADE BIAFRANS AGREE TO PROPOSAL. ARIKPO REPLIED THAT IF
THERE IS ENOUGH PRESSURE FROM OTHERS ON OJUKWU, THEN HE'LL
ACCEPT. IF, HOWEVER, HE THINKS GOVTS ARE UNDER PRE-
SSURE FROM THEIR CITIZENS BECAUSE OF HUMANITARIAN CONCERN,
HE'LL REFUSE. FMG BELIEVES HE HAS NO SCRUPLES ABOUT SUFF-
ERING OF HIS PEOPLE. IN END, BELIEVES ARIKPO, GOVTS
CONCERNED ARE NOT READY TO APPLY PRESSURE TO OJUKWU SO
THAT FLIGHTS WILL NOT TAKE PLACE.

2. NEWSOM THEN BROUGHT UP JCA AIRCRAFT. HE NOTED DEPTH
OF FEELING IN US. SAID FOUR AIRCRAFT NOW OPERATING
FROM SAO TOME. WE PLAN PROVIDE TWO MORE AIRCRAFT TO JCA
FOR BACK-UP PURPOSES. NUMBER OF FLIGHTS WILL NOT INCREASE.
IF ICRC DAYLIGHT OPERATIONS BECOME POSSIBLE, WE
HOPE JCA WILL COME UNDER SAME UMBRELLA.

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USUN 3239 9/26/69

0588

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 USUN NI 03239 260447Z

3. ARIKPO THANKED NEWSOM FOR FRANKNESS. AGREED THAT IF OJUKWU SHOULD EVER ACCEPT ICRC PROPOSALS, OTHER GROUPS WOULD PROBABLY JOIN IN AS IT WOULD BE SAFER AND SIMPLER. BUT HE WONDERS. FRANCE HAS A HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONTINUED BIAFRAN OBSTINANCE.

4. NEWSOM THEN SAID ULTIMATELY SOME SORT OF SETTLEMENT NEEDED AS UNDERSECRETARY HAD MADE CLEAR. IT WOULD SEEM TO INVOLVE A NIGERIAN ENTITY, NOT NECESSARILY TWELVE STATE FRAMEWORK, BUT ONE WHICH PRESERVES NIGERIA. HE ASKED WHAT HAD HAPPENED AT ADDIS AND WHETHER NYERERE HAD BEEN HELPFUL.

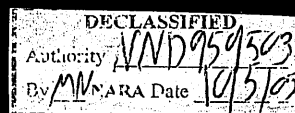
5. ARIKPO WAS QUITE UNHAPPY WITH NYERERE. SAID THAT NIGERIANS HAD HAD THREE MEETINGS WITH HIM. THEY THOUGHT THEY HAD MADE PROGRESS. THERE HAD BEEN DIFFERENCES ON QUESTION CEASEFIRE. NYERERE HAD STATED IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE WOULD BE WITHOUT RISK FOR FMG. GOWAN HAD REPLIED IT NOT PRACTICABLE HAVE CEASEFIRE BEFORE FRENCH ASSISTANCE ENDED. OTHERWISE, NIGERIANS HAD THOUGHT NYERERE AGREED WITH THEM ESPECIALLY ON CONCEPT OF ONE NIGERIA. AFTER PRIVATE MEETINGS, HOWEVER, HE HAD REVERTED PUBLICLY TO OLD STAND. THUS, WHAT NIGERIANS HAD THOUGHT WAS ACCEPTED AND CAREFULLY WORKED OUT FORMULA IS OUT OF WINDOW. FORMULA HAS BEEN THAT NYERERE WOULD GET IN TOUCH WITH OJUKWU AND THEN INFORM EMPEROR OF RESULTS. EMPEROR WOULD WRITE GOWAN IMMEDIATELY AND SET UP MEETING. CEASEFIRE WOULD FOLLOW. ALL HAD TO BE DONE QUIETLY. INSTEAD NYERERE BLEW AFFAIR AND IT'S ALL IN PRESS.

6. NEWSOM ASKED IF FMG RELUCTANT ABOUT IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE. ARIKPO REPLIED AFFIRMATIVELY, STATING BIAFRA WOULD BUILD UP ARMS SUPPLY, AIDED BY FRENCH.

7. NEWSOM ASKED IF FMG HAS TALKED WITH FRENCH. ARIKPO SAID HE HAD DONE SO IN MAY. HE HAD HOPED TO DISCUSS WITH KONMIN SCHUMANN HERE IN NEW YORK BUT HAD JUST LEARNED THAT HE HAD LEFT. HE HOPES TO TALK TO SOMEONE IN FRENCH DELEGATION WHILE HE IS HERE. CONTINUING IN SAME ANTI-FRENCH VEIN, HE SAID HE KNEW FRENCH WERE TRYING TO UNDERMINE FRENCH AFRICANS WHO SUPPORT FMG. SAID HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY WOULD NOT SUPPORT BIAFRA FOR MOMENT IF NOT EN-

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 03 USUN N 03239 260447Z

COURAGED BY FRENCH. REBELLION WILL CONTINUE AS LONG AS FRENCH SUPPLY ARMS. FRENCH HAVE NOW INVESTED SO MUCH IN REBELLION THAT THEY DO NOT WANT NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.

8. NEWSOM SAID USG HAS BEEN CONCENTRATING ON HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS OF PROBLEM. WE DO WANT TO KEEP OURSELVES INFORMED. WE THINK INITIATIVE IS WITH OAU AND EMPERIOR. WE WILL CONTINUE KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH FMG.

9. ARIKPO SAID MEETING WITH BRUBECK FRANK AND USEFUL. US REPS IN LAGOS HAVE BEEN HELPFUL. FMG WILL ALWAYS LISTEN TO US VIEWS EVEN IF, AT TIMES, IT DOES NOT AGREE. FMG HAS NO OTHER SOLUTION THAN ONE IT HAS ALREADY PROPOSED. IT KNOWS THAT LOTS OF IBOS AGREE. IBOS CANNOT LIVE WITHOUT REST OF NIGERIA. ONLY WAY TO SETTLE IS AROUND CONFERENCE TABLE. UP TO NOW, HOWEVER, IBOS PREFER TRAVEL ABOUT WORLD SEEKING SUPPORT.

10. ARIKPO CONCLUDED BY STATING HE LOOKING FORWARD TO TALK WITH SECRETARY FRIDAY MORNING.
ROGERS

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

46 Approved by RBrown, 10/2/69, NYC

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SECRET
SecDel/MC/26
September 26, 1969

SECRETARY'S DELEGATION
TO THE
TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION OF THE
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
New York, September, 1969

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

DATE: September 26, 1969

TIME: 1000 a.m.

PLACE: USUN

SUBJECT: Secretary's Bilateral with Nigerian Foreign
Minister, September 26
(Part I of II - Biafra)

PARTICIPANTS:

U.S.: The Secretary
Ambassador Yost
Amb. Dean Brown

NIGERIAN: Arikpo, Foreign Minister
J.T. Iyalla, Ambassador
to U.S.
B.A. Clark, Nigerian
Delegation

Distribution:

S/S, S/PC, INR/OD, WH, VP, AF, EUR, IO, USUN U/CF,
AmEmbassies LAGOS, LONDON, GENEVA, PARIS

The Secretary opened by expressing his strong personal interest and sympathy with a country he had visited and enjoyed. The U.S. has done what it can in a humanitarian way for Nigeria and was distressed that the problem had not yet been solved.

The Foreign Minister said that the FMG had done its best. It appreciates relief that is given but is disturbed by the arms which continue to slip through. Nigerian agreement with the latest ICRC proposal is the FMG's last effort. It hopes that Ojukwu can be persuaded to accept. He would do so if he were really interested in his people's welfare.

SECRET

Pol 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

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Authority VND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

SECRET

-2-

The Secretary asked if the Minister had seen French Foreign Minister Schumann.

The Minister said that he had tried to but Schumann had left. He hopes to see someone in the French delegation soon.

In response to the Secretary's question as to how he saw the future, the Minister replied that the majority of Ibos now believe that the problem must be settled within a Nigerian framework. They know that there will be no genocide. More and more of them are crossing back into Nigeria. In time, the solution will be found in a re-integration of Ibos into Nigerian society. This can come about through negotiations; Nigeria is ready at any time. It can also come about through military means. In either case, Nigeria is not going to change. Many push Nigeria to make further concessions. It will not do so any longer; there is no more give on the Nigerian side.

The Secretary asked if Nigeria might be raised in the GA. Ambassador Yost said he doubted it although many delegates will mention the problem in their speeches.

The Minister said that he knew there had been unfriendly and critical speeches. He intended to answer them. He had heard that the French were trying to promote an appeal or statement by the GA President or the Secretary General concerning the problem.

The Secretary asked about Clyde Ferguson.

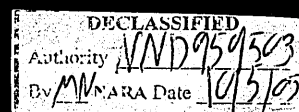
The Minister said that he had met Mr. Ferguson several times. He found him a brilliant and sympathetic man. They planned to meet in Washington soon.

The Secretary said that we have tried to play a useful role, inspired by humanitarian concerns, and have avoided getting involved in political aspects. We are interested in seeing a settlement but not in involvement in the settlement itself.

The Secretary mentioned the question of influence. We are constantly advised not to interfere with other nations. At the same time many of those who so advise us ask us to do something special for them. In Africa we want to be

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sympathetic and helpful but we do not want people to have the idea that we have hidden motives or desires.

The Foreign Minister interjected that Nigeria had used the U.S. constitution as a model for its federal relationship. The Secretary said Balewa had said the same thing but had cautioned that it might not work because of tribal problems in Nigeria.

In response to a question, the Foreign Minister said he would go to Washington on the 8th. He hopes to see the Undersecretary, Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Kissinger, and members of Congress interested in Nigeria.

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By	MVA
DATE	10/5/05

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XR POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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ACTION: UCF 05

INFO: OCT 01, AF: 12, IO: 13, CIAE: 00, DODE: 00, JPM: 04, H: 02, INR: 07, L: 03,
NSAE: 00, NSC: 10, P: 03, RSC: 01, PRS: 01, SS: 20, USIA: 12, SR: 01, ORM: 03,
SCS: 04, SCA: 01, AID: 28, ACDA: 1, RSR: 01, 148 W

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P 261400Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2427
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L COTONOU 974

FOR U/CF

SUBJECT: RSM THOMAS

1. MET WITH AKRELL (ICRC) PM 9/25/69. HE OPINES ICRC
STANDING BY IN COTONOU AND SANTA ISABEL BECAUSE PEACE FEELERS
ARE OUT AND IT IS HIS PERSONAL OPINION THAT NEGOTIATIONS
ARE GOING ON.

2. HE CONTINUED THAT INTERNAL PROBLEMS NIGERIA INTERFERING
WITH WAR EFFORT AND THAT SOME IMMEDIATE ACTION MUST BE
TAKEN BY FMG TO NEGOTIATE.

3. DURING PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND/OR CEASE FIRE, THE ICRC
READY TO FLY TEN (10) FLIGHTS A NIGHT FROM COTONOU AND FIVE
(5) FLIGHTS A NIGHT FROM SANTA ISABEL AND MORE IF DAYTIME
FLIGHTS COMMENCE.

4. AKRELL INDICATED PRESENT PLANS COTONOU CALL FOR RELIEF
INSPECTION TEAM MADE UP OF A DAHOMEAN, A NIGERIAN, AND A
MEMBER FROM ICRC TO CHECK RELIEF SUPPLIES BEFORE LOADED ON
PLANES FOR FLIGHTS INTO ENCLAVE.
LOORAM
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By: MN/ARA Date: 10/5/05



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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, IPW 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03,
AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, ACDA 16, RSR 01, 172 W
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P R 251400Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1053
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USUN NEW YORK 626

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 4328

PARIS FOR BRUBECK

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: BRUBECK TALKS IN ADDIS

1. DURING VISIT ADDIS SEPT 23-24 BRUBECK HAD AUDIENCE WITH
EMPEROR AND TOUCHED BASE WITH MOFA OFFICIALS AND LOCAL TANZANIAN,
NIGERIAN AND LIBERIAN AMBASSADORS. ALTHOUGH TALKS REVEALED NO
MAJOR NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN STATUS OAU ACTIONS RE NIGERIA, PROVIDED
USEFUL CONFIRMATION PICTURE STATE OF PLAY WE PREVIOUSLY HAD
PIECED TOGETHER FROM NUMBER OF SOURCES AND ADDED A FEW POINTS.

2. TANZANIAN AMB RUTAKYAMIRWA SEPT 23 RESPONDED BRUBECK'S
OPENING EXPOSITION U.S. INTERESTS AND POSITION (I.E., SUMMARY
RECENT DEVELOPMENTS ICRC RELIEF PROGRAM, CONTINUED INTEREST
SUCCESSFUL RELIEF OPERATION, REGRET BIAFRANS HAVE NOT COME ALONG,
AND DESIRE BE HELPFUL BEHIND SCENES ON POLITICAL SIDE BUT
CONCLUSION U.S. SHOULD TAKE NO DIRECT ROLE IN AFRICAN PROBLEM)
WITH SPIRITED REJOINDER U.S. ALREADY IN EFFECT INVOLVED, TOOK
LINE U.S. COULD IF WISHED HAVE POSITIVE EFFECT ON BRITISH, FRENCH,
SOVIET ARMS SUPPLIERS. ALSO EXPRESSED VIEW IF NIGERIAN ISSUE
TAKEN TO UN COULD HAVE EFFECT ON SUPPLIERS. COMPLAINED ALSO

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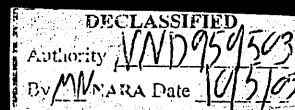
ABOUT ALLEGED STEP-UP MILITARY ACTIVITY BY FMG AT TIME OAU DISCUSSIONS NIGERIA IN ADDIS EARLIER THIS MONTH. (EMBASSY SEPT 24 RECEIVED LETTER FROM HIM ON LATTER POINT IN WHICH BLAMED SOVIETS FOR STEP-UP MILITARY ACTIVITY.) TANZANIAN ALSO INTERESTINGLY REPORTED DURING ADDIS TALKS NYERERE URGED GOWON TO "TAKE CHANCE ON CEASE-FIRE", APPARENTLY VERIFYING BY REPETITION EARLIER REPORTS SUCH LANGUAGE USED IN ADDIS EXCHANGES.

3. NIGERIAN AMB SANU SEPT 23 CLAIMED DURING ADDIS TALKS NYERERE, ZAMBIA'S KAPWEPWE AND GABONESE AGREED SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE ON BASIS ONE NIGERIA, WHATEVER FORM AND MODALITIES ULTIMATELY WORKED OUT. ALSO UNDERSTOOD AMONG THEM NYERERE COMMISSIONED BY ADDIS TALKS APPROACH OJUKWU, PERSUADE HIM ACCEPT CEASE-FIRE AND PEACE TALKS, AND REPORT OJUKWU RESPONSE TO HIM WHO WOULD THEN ARRANGE WITH GOWON COORDINATION CEASE-FIRE ARRANGEMENTS AND FMG PARTICIPATION TALKS. SAID GOWON AGREED NOT RPT NOT NECESSARY IN COURSE THESE ARRANGEMENTS FOR OJUKWU PUBLICLY ACCEPT UNITY PRINCIPLE, SUGGESTING TWO SIDES COULD OPEN TALKS WITH FMG TALKING UNITY AND BIAFRA TALKING SEPARATION. SANU CONFIRMED TO HIS KNOWLEDGE NO RESPONSE HAS BEEN RECEIVED FROM OJUKWU THROUGH NYERE AND HIM CURRENTLY UNDERTAKING NO ACTIVITY PENDING RECEIPT SUCH RESPONSE. ALSO CLAIMED GOWON ORDERED QTE STANDSTILL UNQTE IN MILITARY ACTIVITY, EXCEPT INCREASE SERIAL SURVEILLANCE FLIGHTS OVER BIAFRA, IN DEFERENCE TO POSSIBILITY CEASE-FIRE AND TALKS MIGHT BE WORKED OUT WITH OJUKWU THROUGH NYERERE. ALLUDED TO DETAILED CONSIDERATION WITHIN FMG OF PROBLEMS CEASE-FIRE, IF IT WERE AGREED, E.G., HOW TO POLICE, WHETHER OAU OBSERVER GROUP WOULD BE USED, SURVEILLANCE, EFFECTS ON CURRENT MILITARY DISPOSITIONS AND PLANS, ETC.

4. LIBERIAN AMB COX SEPT 24 HAD NO ADDITIONAL LIGHT THROW ON CURRENT STATUS AFRICAN ACTIVITIES TOWARD CEASE-FIRE AND PEACE TALKS. OFFERED VIEW IVORY COAST ULTIMATELY WILL EMERGE AS ONE OF KEYS, PARTIALLY BECAUSE HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY HAS SO ASSIDUOUSLY KEPT HIMSELF OUT OF ACTION TO THIS POINT. COX, LIKE OTHER AFRICANS, REACTED STRONGLY AGAINST NOTION U.S. AS OUTSIDE POWER HAS NO APPROPRIATE DIRECT ROLE IN MOVING PROBLEM TOWARD SETTLEMENT. INSISTED U.S. CAN AND SHOULD USE INFLUENCE ON OTHER POWERS (PRIMARILY FRANCE) AGAINST SUPPLY ARMS AND OTHER ACTIONS PROLONGING WAR. COX AT ONE POINT REMARKED GENERALLY OAU INITIATIVE (NYERERE MISSION) APPEARED BE GOING WELL, WITH PRINCIPAL QUESTION NOW ONE OF VENUE FOR TALKS BETWEEN TWO SIDES AFTER CEASE-FIRE.

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SAID ADDIS AND MONROVIA REAL POSSIBILITIES, BUT KAMPALA COMPLETELY OUT OF RUNNING AT THIS POINT. MENTIONED GHANAIIAN CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT CEREMONIALS IN ACCRA OCT 1 AS POSSIBLE NEXT SCENE OF TALK, SAID TUBMAN HAD INDICATED HE WOULD GO TO ACCRA IF HIM ATTENDED BUT STILL NOT CLEAR WHETHER HIM INVITED OR INTENDED GO. WHEN WE PRESSED COX ON STATUS AGREEMENT POINTS OF SUBSTANCE BEARING ON POSSIBILITY MEETING BETWEEN TWO SIDES, HOWEVER, HE RETREATED FROM EARLIER ASSURANCE PRINCIPAL QUESTION REMAINING ONE OF VENUE. ADMITTED HARD QUESTIONS NOT SETTLED AND SAID OAU SEC GEN DIALLO TELLS TOO OPTIMISTIC (ADDIS 423) NOTAL. CONCLUDED NONETHELESS DOES NOT DISCOUNT POSSIBILITY PROGRESS ENTIRELY; FELT QTE SOMETHING IN AIR UNQTE.

5. ACTING IEG FONMIN SEYOUM HAREGT SEPT 23 ALSO CONFIRMED PARTIES LEFT ADDIS WITH AGREEMENT NYERERE WOULD SEEK ASSURANCES OJUKWU BIAFRANS PREPARED NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY, WOULD THEN ADVISE HIM, WHO WOULD NOTIFY GOWON WHO IN TURN WOULD SET UP CEASE-FIRE. HIM WOULD ORGANIZE VENUE FOR TALKS BETWEEN DELEGATIONS. SEYOUM ALSO CONFIRMED NO WORD RECEIVED FROM NYERERE.

6. AUDIENCE WITH HIM SEPT 24 MAINLY FEATURED GENERAL, PHILO. SOPHICAL RESONSES TO OUR QUESTIONS RE CURRENT OAU, HIM ACTIONS, STATUS NYERERE EFFORTS, PROSPECTS OF CURRENT INITIATIVES. GENERAL MEOD OF HIM'S TALK LESS OPTIMISTIC THAN TELLI'S, BUT HIM EITHER KNEW NOTHING NEW OR UNDERSTANDABLY DID NOT WISH SHARE IT AT THIS STAGE. WE FELT HE STILL RETAINED WISTFUL HOPE AMERICANS COULD DO SOMETHING, AND IN FACT AT CONCLUSION AUDIENCE EXPRESSED HOPE U.S. COULD DO SOMETHING WITH FRENCH. BRUBECK PROMISED HIM REPORT IN DUE COURSE THROUGH EMBASSY ON HIS CONVERSATIONS EUROPEAN CAPITALS.

7. TELLI WAS WAITING TO SEE HIM AS WE LEFT AND TOLD US HE WAS OPTIMISTIC AND WAS LEAVING SEPT 25 FOR LAGOS AND MONROVIA. HE VOLUNTEERED GIVE ME REPORT ON TRIP WHEN HE RETURNS TO ADDIS IN WEEK OR TEN DAYS.

8. COMMENT: CONVERSATIONS APPEARED CONFIRM SCENARIO ON WHICH AFRICANS WORKING BASICALLY AS REPORTED PREVIOUSLY; ALL AWAIT RESULTS NYERERE APPROACH OJUKWU. ALSO WORTH NOTING UNIVERSALITY AFRICAN FEELING U.S. CANNOT REMAIN COMPLETELY UNENGAGED AND SHOULD ATTEMPT USE INFLUENCE ON EUROPEANS, ALTHOUGH THEY DIFFER ON NATURE OF INFLUENCE DESIRED AND

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PARTIES TO BE PRESSURED. ADDITIONAL POINT OF INTEREST IS
GENERAL OPTIMISM WITH EXCEPTION HIM ALTHOUGH WHEN PRESSED ON
DETAILS LITTLE BACKING OFFERED FOR OPTIMISTIC VIEW. ONE
FEATURE AFRICAN NEGOTIATION IS OF COURSE BELIEF IF PARTIES
CAN BEGIN AND CONTINUE TALKING SOLUTIONS SOMETIMES EMERGE.
BELIEF IN EFFICACY THIS APPROACH MAY EXPLAIN IN PART OPTIMISM
OF AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC CORPS ADDIS.
HALL

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XL POL 27-9 Biafra, Nigeria

SECRET 030

Rome 6141
9/25/69

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52:
ACTION SS: 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, SSO 00, 071 W

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P R 251630Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2534
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T ROME 6141

LIMDIS

REF: A) ROME 6051
B) ROME 5903 NOTAL

1. BRUBECK AND EMBOFFS MET SEPT 25 WITH MONSIGNOR CASPARI, UNDERSECRETARY VATICAN COUNCIL FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS, WHO IS ACTING "FONMIN" IN ABSENCE ARCHBISHOP CASAROLI. IN RESPONSE TO BRUBECK'S FRANK REPORT ON HIS LAGOS AND ADDIS TALKS CASPARI PROVIDED RUNDOWN OF CURRENT STATUS VATICAN EFFORTS GET DIALOGUE STARTED BETWEEN FMG AND BIAFRANS WHICH HE STRESSED HE WAS PASSING ON IN THE GREATEST CONFIDENCE. HE SPOKE WITHOUT PROMPTING, AND EVIDENCED GREAT OPENNESS AND WILLINGNESS VATICAN TO DEAL WITH USG ON THE PROBLEM. CASPARI SAID THAT VATICAN APPROACH IS REALISTIC RATHER THAN IDEOLOGICAL ONE AND THAT VATICAN DOES NOT HOLD BRIEF RE POSITION EITHER PARTY AND INTERESTED ONLY IN SETTLEMENT.

2. VATICAN NOW MORE OPTIMISTIC THAN ON SEPT 15 (REF B) AS RESULT VISIT TO ROME AND AUDIENCE WITH POPE SEPTEMBER 20 OF FMG INFOMIN ENAHORO. CASPARI DID NOT SAY SO, BUT APPEARS ENAHORO GAVE REPLY VATICAN HAD BEEN EXPECTING FROM FMG RE USE OF VATICAN AS INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN TWO SIDES (PARA 3, REF B).

3. VATICAN IS NOW AWAITING CLARIFICATION OF

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ACTION AID 28

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03,
SCS 04, SCA 01, IGA 02, EI 15, UCF 05, UPW 01, AGR 20, NEA 13, RSR 01,
/183 W

R 251350Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3082
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 3442

SUBJECT: BIAFRA - JCA FOOD PLAN

REF: GENEVA 3425, TELECON GUTMAN/KELLERMAN 9-24-69

1. WE HAVE JUST OBTAINED JCA/GEISSEL'S FOOD PLAN FOR SEPTEMBER THROUGH DECEMBER. WE ARE AIR POUCHING COPY TO UYCF, AID/AFR NIGERIA AND USAID/LAGOS/MARKS. ONE COPY IS BEING AIR MAILED TO AID/HELEN WILSON.

2. 1,700 TONS CSM REF 1 PARA 3 IS BEING SHIPPED FROM USA THUS ONLY ITEMS REQUIRED FOR CURRENT PERIOD ARE 800 TONS DRIED MILK AND 1,000 TONS DRIED BEANS. BOTH ITEMS CAN PROBABLY BE TRANSFERRED FROM EXISTING ICRC STOCKS. SEPTTEL WILL FOLLOW AFTER WE HEAR FROM AMMAN/ICRC WHO PRESUMABLY MUST AWAIT OUTCOME TODAY'S EXEC COMMITTEE MEETING WHICH MAY DETERMINE FUTURE ICRC POLICY RE BIAFRAN RELIEF.

3. GEISSEL COMPLAINED TO US ABOUT POOR CONDITION OF STOCKFISH RECEIVED FROM ICRC. HE BELIEVES ITEM CAN BE SALVAGED BY REFUMIGATION. JCA WILL INSPECT ALL FUTURE FOOD STOCKS MARKED FOR TRANSFER FROM ICRC PRIOR ACCEPTANCE. GEISSEL EMPHASIZED HIS PERSONAL INTENTION COOPERATE WITH ICRC TO FULLEST EXTENT IN ASSISTING THEM LIQUIDATE THEIR STOCKS IF DEVELOPMENTS NECESSARY.

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TATE THIS. HE HAS GIVEN STRICT ORDERS TO THIS EFFECT TO HIS ASSOCIATES WHO ARE INCLINED TO "LET ICRC STEW IN ITS OWN JUICE". GEISSEL EXPRESSED CONVICTION THAT ANY MISHANDLING OF RELIEF SUPPLIES WILL HIT ALL ORGANIZATIONS IN BROAD BRUSH MANNER. THUS HELPING ICRC. HE SAID ASIDE FROM ANY OTHER CONSIDERATION BECOMES "ENLIGHTENED ACT OF SELF DEFENSE" FOR JCA. GEISSEL BELIEVES HE CAN INCLUDE MOST CONCEIVABLE ICRC SURPLUSES IN JANUARY PLAN.

4. GEISSEL MENTIONED THAT JCA ORGANIZATIONS IN PAST MONTHS HAD VASTLY REDUCED PUBLICITY EFFORTS IN ORDER AVOID UNDERCUTTING ICRC'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH FMG. I.E., BY LESSENING EMPHASIS ON JCA NIGHT FLIGHT ACTIVITIES. HOWEVER PROPAGANDA MACHINE HAS NOW BEEN GEARED UP AGAIN AND CONTRIBUTIONS HAVE STARTED ROLL IN AT "GRATIFYING" CLIP. GEISSEL MENTIONED SEVERAL TIMES IMPORTANCE ASSURE WHATEVER US ORIGIN PERCENTAGE OF GOODS IS REQUIRED FOR FREIGHT REIMBURSEMENT.

5. GEISSEL STATED 4 MILLION PERSONS IN ENCLAVE REQUIRE FOOD RELIEF. APPROXIMATELY 3.1 MILLION MUST BE FED DAILY AND 900,000 FROM ONE TO TWO TIMES PER WEEK. PRESENT AIRLIFT CAPACITY EXTENDS FOOD RELIEF OF SOME TYPE TO 2.5 MILLION PEOPLE. AFTER IMPLEMENTATION US-JCA DISCUSSIONS, I.E., RE-ESTABLISHMENT ORIGINAL C-97 CAPACITY, GEISSEL HOPES ATTAIN AVERAGE 300 TON PER NIGHT LIFT. HOWEVER 350 TONS MINIMUM WOULD BE REQUIRED TO MEET BASIC NEEDS. BASED ON CONSTANT CHECKS GEISSEL CONSIDERS ABOVE RELIEF STATISTICS ACCURATE. NEVERTHELESS HIS OFFICE WILL UNDERTAKE NEW RELIEF CENSUS IN VERY EARLY FUTURE. SURVEY WILL ALSO CONSIDER MEANS INCREASING LOCAL FOOD PRODUCTION SINCE INDIGENOUS POSSIBILITIES ARE PRESENTLY NOT REPEAT NOT SUFFICIENTLY EXPLOITED.

6. GEISSEL MENTIONED NOTICEABLE BREAKDOWN IN BIAFRAN DISCIPLINE INCLUDING THEFTS AND DIVERSIONS OF RELIEF GOODS IN RECENT WEEKS. HE HAS TAKEN VERY ENERGETIC MEASURES AND SITUATION IS NOW BACK UNDER FULL CONTROL. GEISSEL BELIEVES THAT STEADY DETERIORATION OF CONDITIONS IN ENCLAVE MAY REQUIRE ASSIGNMENT OF ADDITIONAL EXPATRIATE PERSONNEL TO ASSURE ADEQUATE END-USE SUPERVISION OF RELIEF OPERATIONS. BASSIN

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By	MNARA Date 10/5/05



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43:
ACTION: AF 18

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CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07

LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, RSR 01, AID 28, 144
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P R 251220Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3080
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3439

1. BASSET'S ACCOUNT ICRC DISCUSSIONS WITH OBI INDICATED LATTER BASICALLY SPUN SAME PHONOGRAPH RECORD FOR BENEFIT ALL GENEVA LISTENERS.

2. RE: "CONTINUED USE ULI" OBI HAD FRANKLY ADMITTED THIS ALSO APPLIED TO POSSIBLE FUTURE MILITARY DAYTIME USERS WHICH MIGHT REQUIRE STRIP SUITABLE LARGER PLACES THAN THOSE NOW RPT NOW OPERATING FROM SMALL BIAFRAN AIRFIELDS. OBI REFUSED GO INTO DETAILS CLAIMING SUBJECT WAS "SECRET".

3. ICRC MIGHT CONSIDER SENDING HIGH LEVEL NEGOTIATOR INTO ENCLAVE IN RESPONSE TO OBI'S REQUEST PROVIDED BIAFRA CLEARED ICRC PLANE FOR ROUND TRIP AS ICRC NOT REPEAT NOT PREPARED USE OTHER MEANS ENTER ENCLAVE. OBI DID NOT RPT NOT COMMENT RE THIS CONDITION.

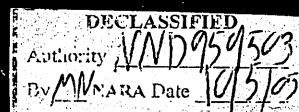
4. FREYMOND RETURNED FOR ONE DAY TO GENEVA TO SEE OBI.

5. BASSET WAS UNWILLING PREDICT NATURE DISCUSSIONS AT ICRC COMMITTEE MEETING P.M.

COMMENT: WE SURMISE ICRC COMMITTEE WILL FACE THREE

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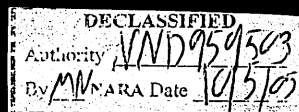
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ALTERNATIVES (A) START TEST FLIGHTS (B) WITHDRAW IN
FACE BIAFRA REJECTION AND LONG EXPIRED DEADLINE
PREVIOUSLY SET BY COMMITTEE (C) DECIDE DECLARE WILLING-
NESS SEND HIGH LEVEL NEGOTIATOR TO OWERRI TO REESTABLISH
BALANCE IN WAKE NAVILLE VISIT TO LAGOS AND BIGNAMI'S
ASSIGNMENT THERE. WE ARE INCLINED PLACE CHIPS ON
ALTERNATIVE (C). SINCE FREYMOND HAS PERSONALLY CONDUCTED
NEGOTIATIONS WITH BIAFRANS THROUGHOUT HE WOULD BE
LOGICAL CHOICE AS "HIGH LEVEL NEGOTIATOR". WE WOULD NOT
RPT NOT BE SURPRISED THOUGH IF HE FINESSED HANDING STICKY
WICKET TO NAVILLE.
BASSIN

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UPW 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 150 W

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P R 251354Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2425
INFO USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L COTONOU 969

FOR U/CF

SUBJECT: RSM THOMAS

1. RA CROSS BEECHCRAFT (HB-VBM) AT AIRPORT ABIDJAN 9/23/69.

2. WALTER COLE OF DEPT OF STATE GAVE EXCELLENT COVERAGE OF
AMB FERGUSON'S PRESS CONFERENCE ON VOA 9/23/69.

3. STURZENEGGER ICRC CHIEF COTONOU IS PRESENTLY IN GENEVA AND
DUE BACK SEPTEMBER 29.

4. MET WITH HORST MEYNER, CHIEF OF OPERATIONS COTONOU AM
9/24/69 WHO INDICATED HE HAD RECEIVED ORDERS FROM GENEVA THAT
NO RPT NO ICRC PLANES WILL MOVE IN OR OUT OF COTONOU WITHOUT
EVEN ANY TRAINING FLIGHTS CREW MORALE IS AT ITS LOWEST. IN ORDER
TO KEEP CREWS IN COTONOU THE ICRC IS PAYING THEM BONUS THAT WOULD
BE RECEIVED IF THEY WERE MAKING TWO FLIGHTS INTO ENCLAVE EACH
NIGHT.

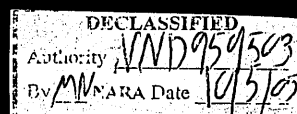
5. HAD MEETING WITH PIERROZ PM 9/24/69, THE NEWLY APPOINTED
LIAISON BETWEEN ICRC AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN COTONOU.

6. CAPTAIN AMADU, NIGERIAN MILITARY CONTROLLER ARRIVED
COTONOU 9/24/69 AND IS LIVING HOTEL DE LA PLAGE. CREATED
SOME EXCITEMENT IN BRINGING PERSONAL TV SET.

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Cotonou 969
9-25-69

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PAGE 02. COTONO 00969 251515Z

UM PRESENTLY SEVEN ICRC PLANES COTONOU: TWO DC-6, FOUR C-97,
AND ONE TRANSAL. THERE ARE TWO CREWS FOR EACH PLANE.
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Authority	VND959503
By	MNARA Date 10/5/05

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9-25-69

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, UPW 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00,

CIAE 00, USIE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03,

RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, AID 28, SRI 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, E 15,

HEW 07, RSR 01, 160 W

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OIR 251159Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9169
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 8584

JOINT EMBASSY/USAID

SUBJECT: NIGERIA - RELIEF SURVEY

REF: STATE 162050; STATE 162282

1. WHILE SYMPATHETIC WITH NEED FOR MORE PRECISE INFORMATION, COUNTRY TEAM BELIEVES PROPOSED TIMING RELIEF SURVEY TO FMG AREAS NOT 405 NOT PROPITIOUS. WE WOULD WELCOME VISIT BY AMB FERGUSON WHO COULD UNDERSTANDABLY COME TO RENEW CONTACTS AND HAVE GENERAL TALKS WITH FMG ON RELIEF SITUATION.

2. WITH RETURN OF MOHAMMED, TALKS BETWEEN REHAB COMMISSIONER OMO-BARE AND NIORIAN RED CROSS ARE PROCEEDING MORE SATISFACTORILY (SEE SEPT 1) BUT AIGUAL TAKEOVER SLATED FOR OCTOBER 1 WILL INEVITABLY RESULT IN CONFUSING TRANSITIONAL PERIOD OF SEVERAL WEEKS INVOLVING PERSONNEL SHIFTS IN LAGOS AND FIELD AND REVISED POLICY, PROCEDURES AND BUDGET. VISIT AFTER THIS SHAKEDOWN PERIOD WOULD GIVE FAR BETTER PERSPECTIVE OF CURRENT OPERATIONS AND FUTURE REQUIREMENTS.

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



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3. USAID REPS AND HASTEN HAVE RECENTLY COMPLETED EXTENSIVE VISITS OF EAST CENTRAL AND MID-WESTERN STATES, KLEIN IS CURRENTLY IN S.E. STATE, AND FRANCIS, WHO RECENTLY VISITED SAME, LEAVES MONDAY FOR PORT HARCOURT. HOWEVER, MILITARY CHARY AT VISITS, EVEN BY ADVANCE RED CROSS TEAMS, TO DICEY AREAS NORTH AND NORTHWEST OF PORT HARCOURT, INTERIOR OF ENUGU-ABAKALIKI-AFIKPO-OKIGWI RECTANGLE PROPOSED FOR INTENSIVE SURVEY.

4. FMG PUSHED TO STRAINING POINT IN ORDER OBTAIN THEIR ASSENT TO ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSAL (WHICH STILL AT DELICATE STAGE) WOULD BE DISINCLINED FOCUS ATTENTION ON SURVEY PARTY AND LIKELY IRRITATED BY SPECIAL REQUESTS TO MILITARY TO ARRANGE PERMITS, SPECIAL FLIGHTS AND FACILITIES REQUIRED FOR TRAVEL IN FORWARD AREAS AT THIS JUNCTURE OF WAR.

5. COUNTRY TEAM AGREES THAT BASIC NEED IS FOR BETTER DATA FROM ENCLAVE. WE HAVE YET TO RECEIVE ADEQUATE--AND OBJECTIVE-- INFORMATION FROM ENCLAVE AS TO POPULATION, LOCAL FOOD AVAILABILITIES, NUMBER PERSONS IN NEED, ETC. WE BELIEVE BEST COURSE ACTION AT THIS TIME WOULD BE TO PUT SOPHISTICATED AGRICULTURAL NUTRITIONAL TEAM INTO REBEL AREA FOR SUFFICIENT TIME TO ENABLE THEM GATHER ESSENTIAL FACTS WITHOUT HAVING RELY ON BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT SOURCES OR SECOND-HAND ACCOUNTS WHICH APT BE BIASED.

6. IN LIGHT ABOVE WE HOLDING DELIVERY LETTER (STATE 162282) TO OMO-BARE UNTIL FURTHER INSTRUCTION. IF DECIDED SEND LETTER, SUGGEST DELETION WORD "EARLY" BEFORE "OCTOBER" IN FIRST PARA AND DELETION "BEGINNING APPROXIMATELY SEPTEMBER 30" FROM SECOND PARA. BELIEVE BEST RESPONSE APT COME IF WE NOT RPT NOT APPEAR PRESSURE FERGUSON VISIT, E.G. BY SETTING EARLY DATES. TONE OF LETTER EXCELLENT. GP-1.
OLSON

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By <i>MM</i> NARA Date <i>10/3/05</i>

ORIGIN / ACTION

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OSD	USIA	NSA
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RS/r. MCG-1

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

 POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
 XR AID (Y440) BIAFRA
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NO.

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Secstate WASHDC

INFO : BELGRADE, LAGOS

FROM : Amconsul ZAGREB

SUBJECT : First Yugoslav Aid For Biafra

REF :

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SEP 29 1 43 PM 1969

RS/TAN
ANALYSIS BRANCH

DATE: September 24, 1969

file

1. An item appearing in Vjesnik September 16 reports that some two tons of medicines worth approximately 200,000 new dinars (about 16,000 dollar. US) has been despatched to Biafra by the international fund "Hungry Children" whose headquarters is in Zagreb, Yugoslavia. The medicines were purchased by funds donated by the citizens, City Assembly, and socio-political organizations of Zagreb. The medicines are to be shipped free of charge by the Zagreb transport enterprise "Croatiatrans" to Rome, where onward shipment is to be effected by Caritas. The report adds that the director of the "Hungry Children" fund, Vladimor PALECEK, is accompanying the shipment to Biafra.

2. This is the first shipment of relief supplies from Yugoslavia to Biafra which has come to our attention.

OWEN

FORM
4-62 DS-323

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Drafted by:

TPHDunlop:LLL 9/23/69

Contents and Classification Approved by:

RIOwen

Clearances:

TPHD

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 Authority VND 959/503
 By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



INDICATE:
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TELEGRAM

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Nigeria

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ACTION: Amembassy ROME PRIORITY

STATE _____

FOR BRUBECK CARE OF CHRISTIANSEN

SUBJECT: Approaches to Biafran Reps on Daylight Flights

REF: State 152748

POL 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria

1. Reftel included request twelve European governments and Canada make approaches Geneva urging Biafran rep (Obi) not to sabotage daylight flight agreement. Five (Norway, Ireland, Canada, Belgium, Austria) complied. Two (Finland, Iceland) agreed approach but not necessarily through Obi. Five (Sweden, Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, Italy) refused for various reasons. No reply from Embassy Luxembourg.
2. Five governments (Norway, Sweden, Belgium, Denmark, Italy) made public statements supporting agreement on daylight relief flights. FonSec Stewart made strong statement without our solicitation supporting ICRC-FMG agreement. Canadian MinExtAff Sharp made recent statement. Text requested from Ottawa.
3. Embassy Paris told Quai and Houphouet-Boigny of USG approach Obi on instructions ~~NY~~ State 152752. French said would query

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:BBB:nb

DRAFTING DATE

9/24/69

TEL. EXT.

29311

APPROVED BY:

AF - Amb. Moore

CLEARANCES:

U/CF - Mr. Dewey (draft) *BS*
AF/SN - Mr. Sherry
EUR/AIS - Mr. White (telephone, subs) *BS*

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Classification

FORM FS-413
4-68

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By *MV* NARA Date *10/5/03*



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ACTION: Amembassy ROME PRIORITY

Page 2

whether
Biafrans/ ~~the~~ statement by GOF aimed at FMG would meet Biafran
objections regarding security guarantees. Houphouet said he
would approach Biafrans QTE to see what troubling them and what
could be done about ICRC flight proposal UNQTE. We have no
indication Biafran responses, if any.

RICHARDSON

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CLEARANCES:

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4-68

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AID 28

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, EUR 17, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07,

LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05,

UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, /150 W

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R 241200Z SEP 69

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3066

INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

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STATE PASS AID/NIGERIA/HELEN WILSON

SUBJECT BIAFRAN ENCLAVE/FOOD REQUIREMENTS

REFERENCE STATE 161595

1. SE HAD BRIEF PHONE CONVERSATION WITH GEISEL YESTERDAY PRIOR TO REFTEL WHICH RECEIVED TODAY. WE WILL RECONTACT GEISEL AFTER HIS RETURN FROM BERLIN ON SEPTEMBER 26.

2. IN ADDITION ITEMS MENTIONED REFTEL PARA 1 FOLLOWING SUPPLIES HAVE BEEN TRANSFERRED FROM ICRC TO JCA: FROM SISTABEL 774 TONS STOCKFISH OF WHICH 274 TONS REQUIRE REFUMIGATION, 584 TONS DRIED BEANS.

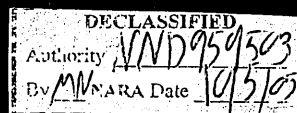
3. GEISEL PLAN FOR FOUR MONTH PERIOD SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER ASSUMES TOTAL NEEDS OF APPROXIMATELY 22,000 TONS BASED MONTHLY AVERAGE OF 4-6,000 TONS. PRESENTLY AT SAO TOME ARE 7,982 TONS; DELIVERY OF REMAINING 14,000 TONS IS ALREADY ASSURED WITH FOLLOWING EXCEPTIONS: 800 TONS MILK POWDER, 1,700 TONS CSM, 1,000 TONS DRIED BEANS. GEISEL IS ANXIOUS MAKE SURE THAT GOODS OF U.S. ORIGIN REPRESENTS SUFFICIENTLY HIGH PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL TO INSURE REIMBURSEMENT TRANSPORTATION COSTS.

4. JCA AIRLIFT ON SEPTEMBER 18-19 REACHED NEW HIGH WITH 270

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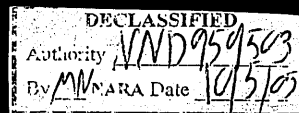
TONS. GEISEL BELIEVES MAXIMUM UTILIZATION ULI CAN BE ASSURED WITH 16 PLANES. THIS PLANE INVENTORY WOULD BE ATTAINED AFTER IMPLEMENTATION RECENT DISCUSSIONS WITH JCA; ONLY REMAINING DIFFICULTY ACCORDING GEISEL IS SHORTAGE OF CREWS OF CANADIAN CONSTELLATIONS.

5. EXPECT FURTHER DATA COB SEPTEMBER 26 INCLUDING COPY GEISEL PLAN, INCLUDING CONTEMPLATED ADDITIONAL TRANSFERS FROM ICRC TO JCA. ALSO EXPECT TRANSMIT UPDATED ICRC INVENTORIES AND DETAILS OF STOCKS (300T COTONOU-100T STISABEL) THAT ICRC WOULD LIKE RETAIN UNDER ITS CONTROL WHILE THERE IS HOPE THAT ITS RELIEF ROLE IN NIGERIA/BIAFRA MAY BECOME REACTIVATED. BASSIN

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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CONFIDENTIAL 493

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03,
SCS 04, SCA 01, E 15, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28, DOT 12, RSR 01, 183 W
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R 241810Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3075
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USUN NEW YORK 3749

CONFIDENTIAL L GENEVA 3434

REF: GENEVA 3417

1. CANADIAN FIRST SECRETARY, LAPOINTE, CALLED UPON U/CF OFFICERS TO ADVISE THAT BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVE OBI TOLD HIM SAME STORY GIVEN US INDICATING NO CHANGE NOR DECERNABLE FLEXIBILITY IN OWERRI POSITION ON DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS. THERE WERE NO DIFFERENCES NOTED IN OBI'S REPLIES TO QUESTIONS ON ALTERNATIVES TO GUARANTEES, OR PROBLEM OF STARVATION OR ON BIAFRAN AND FMG CLAUSES ON OPERATIONS AT ULI.

2. LAPOINTE STATED HE RECEIVED A CABLE ON MEETING BETWEEN AMB FERGUSON, MORRIS AND IVAN HEAD CONCERNING POSSIBILITY USING OBSERVERS ON DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS. LAPOINTE HAD HEARD THAT ITALIANS AND AUSTRAINS DECLINED TO PARTICIPATE. CANADIANS HOWEVER ARE RESERVING DISCUSSION. HE ADDED THAT IT IS DOUBTFUL OBSERVERS COULD SUBSTITUTE FOR GUARANTEES DEMANDED BY BIAFRANS.

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27-9 Biafra
K. J. W.

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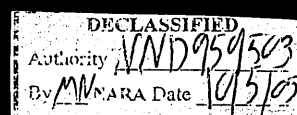
PAGE 02 GENEVA 03434 241938Z

3. LAPOINT MENTIONED THAT ICRC AT TOMORROW'S EXECUTIVE MEETING WILL CONSIDER FUTURE OF RELIEF TO BIAFRA INCLUDING OBI'S REQUEST THAT RED CROSS SEND RANKING OFFICIAL TO BIAFRA IF IT WANTS TO DISCUSS FURTHER DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. OBI OBSERVED THAT ICRC PRESIDENT WENT TO NIGERIA BUT THAT HIS TRIP TO BIAFRA WOULD BE AN EDUCATION.

4. THE VATICAN THROUGH ITS GENEVA REPRESENTATIVE HAS BEEN INQUIRING OF CANADA AND SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES WHETHER THEY SEE STEPS WHICH POPE COULD TAKE TO BREAK IMPASSE DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. CANADIAN REPLIED HE SAW NOTHING NEW WHICH CAN BE DONE.
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, HEW 07, SCI 05, SR 01, ORM 03, USIE 00, SFW 02,
MED 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, INT 06, E 15, EUR 17, AID 28, UPW 01, SSO 00,
NSCE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,
P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, CCO 00, RSR 01, 176 W
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FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3074
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

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FOR U/CF SHISKIN

SUBJECT: BIAFRA - VACCINATION CAMPAIGNS

REF: TELECON GUTMAN/DEWEY SEPTEMBER 23, 1969

1. U/CF REP (GUTMAN) MET WITH DR. GRASSET AND OBTAINED VARIOUS REPORTS WHICH HAVE BEEN AIRMAILED TO U/CF (SHISKIN) AND HAVE BEEN POUCHED TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS, AID/NIGERIA AFR (WILSON AND DR. CURTIS). UNDERSTAND DR. HOLM HAS ALSO MAILED COPIES TO U/CF.
2. GRASSET REPORTS GENERAL DETERIORATION OF CONDITIONS IN ENCLAVE. FOOD SHORTAGES WERE CAUSING BREAKDOWN MILITARY DISCIPLINE REFLECTED IN VILLAGERS' CROPS BEING STOLEN OFF FIELDS BY SOLDIERS. HOWEVER PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY EDUCATED CLASSES SUCH AS NURSES, ETC., REMAIN CONVINCED THAT FMG VICTORY OR RE-INTEGRATION WILL RESULT GENOCIDE.
3. CONDITIONS IN HOSPITALS VISITED BY GRASSET WERE CATASTROPHIC. CHILDREN RARELY SHOW INDICATIONS OF KWASHIORK AS SIMULTANEOUS CARBOHYDRATE STARVATION RESULTS EMACIATION. AUTOPSIES PERFORMED BY FRENCH MILITARY HOSPITAL LIBREVILLE ON EVACUATED EMERGENCY CASES SHOW 60 PERCENT TB INCIDENT RATE.

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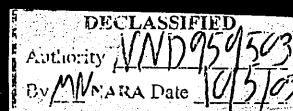
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03433 241922Z

4. DRUG SITUATION IN HOSPITALS WAS RELATIVELY GOOD AS WAS AVAILABILITY OF STOCKFISH; GREATEST NEED WAS FOR POWDERED MILK (NOTE: GEISEL/JCA MENTIONED TODAY OVER PHONE THAT SIZEABLE QUANTITIES DRIED MILK HAVE BEEN AIR LIFTED INTO BIAFRA DURING PAST TEN DAYS).
5. BASIC LIMITING PARAMETER AT PRESENT WAS LACK POL AND SPARE PARTS WHICH WOULD PREVENT EFFECTIVE DISTRIBUTION OF STEPPED UP SUPPLY ARRIVALS AND CURTAILS ACTION RADIUS OF MEDICAL TEAMS AND IMMUNIZATION ACTION. THIS, ACCORDING GRASSET, IS LARGELY DUE TO DETERIORATION OF ROAD SYSTEM AS RESULT RAINY SEASON WHICH IMPEDES GASOLINE TRUCKS. HOWEVER BIAFRANS ARE PRESENTLY CONSTRUCTING PIPELINE FROM REFINERY AND BELIEVE THIS WILL EASE POL SHORTAGE SOON.
6. PRECISE STATUS VARIOUS VACCINATION CAMPAIGNS, MEDICAL PROBLEMS, ETC. ARE SET FORTH IN DOCUMENTS.
7. IN REPLY TO QUESTION DR. GRASSET MENTIONED TWO PRIORITY NEEDS (A) SIMPLE WATER DISTILLATION EQUIPMENT OF PRESSURE COOKER TYPE AND (B) AN INCLUSION OF ADDITIONAL HOOK WORM MEDICATIONS (E.G., ALCAPOR) IN UNICEF KITS. PRESENT QUANTITIES PERMIT TREATMENT OF 50 PEOPLE TEN DAYS WHEREAS TREATMENT OF 80 PEOPLE FOR FOUR WEEKS WOULD BE MORE ADEQUATE REFLECTION OF DISEASE INCIDENCE RATE. ANEMIA CAUSED BY HOOK WORM IS WIDESPREAD CONDITION. THESE DRUGS APPARENTLY ARE COSTLY AND QUANTITIES IN UNICEF KITS MAY THEREFORE BE DIFFICULT TO INCREASE WITHOUT SPECIAL FINANCING. PLEASE NOTE THAT MEMO RE UNICEF KITS DOES NOT REPEAT NOT MENTION HOOK WORM PROBLEM.
8. DOCUMENTS TRANSMITTED INCLUDE PRIORITY REQUIREMENTS FOR DRUGS, ETC. PREPARED BY BIAFRANS. GRASSET RECOMMENDS STRONGLY LISTS BE DISCUSSED WITH DR. MAR (C/O GENDRON, UNICEF, NEW YORK) BEFORE ANY ACTION IS TAKEN AS THEY MAY HAVE "LETTER TO SANTA CLAUS FLAVOR".
9. MEASLES VACCINE: THERE ARE 80,000 DOSES PRESENTLY LEFT IN BIAFRA THAT WERE FURNISHED BY UNICEF COPENHAGEN. THEY ARE KEPT UNDER GOOD REFRIGERATION. 200,000 DOSES ARE STORED IN GENEVA. EXPIRATION DATE OF BIAFRAN LOT IS NOVEMBER, GENEVA DOSES RUN OUT IN NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER. DR. GRASSET RECOMMENDS THAT AID CHECK PITTMAN/MOORE CO. TO DETERMINE PRECISE SIGNIFICANCE OF

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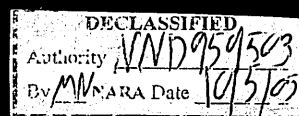
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PAGE 03 GENEVA 03433 241922Z

EXPIRATION DATE, I.E., POSSIBLE SAFETY MARGIN. SHE ALSO SUGGESTS THAT SAMPLES OF BIAFRAN COULD BE RETURNED TO PITTMAN-MOORE FOR TESTING. RE GENEVA LOT GRASSET SUGGESTS SHIPMENT TO ALTERNATE DESTINATION AND REPLACEMENT AS NEEDED. GOVERNING FACTORS WILL BE PROGRESSIVE REDUCTION OF NEEDS AS VACCINATIONS WILL BE INCREASINGLY LIMITED TO ISOLATED POCKETS AND NEW BABY "CROP". PRESENT MAJOR LIMITATION IS POL SITUATION DISCUSSED ABOVE. BASSIN

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POC 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03429 241729Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, AID 28,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03,

RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, UPW 01, RSR 01, 150 W
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P R 241710Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3070
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USUN NEW YORK 3748

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STATE FOR U/CF

REF: GENEVA 3417

1. BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVE CALLED UPO. CHARGE AND U/CF REPS TO PRESENT "NOTE" WHICH HE CLAIMED WAS REPLY TO COMMUNICATION SENT BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT BY USG. CHARGE INDICATED IMMEDIATELY THAT THERE WAS NO COMMUNICATION FROM U.S. GOVERNMENT TO BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT AND THAT WE VIEWED HIS MESSAGE NOT AS A NOTE FROM A GOVERNMENT TO US BUT AS INFORMAL TALKING POINTS. MR. OBI ACCEPTED THIS WITH AN "OF COURSE". TEXT FOLLOWS: QUOTE: THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BIAFRA HAS INSTRUCTED ME TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE COMMUNICATION TRANSMITTED TO IT THROUGH THE U.S. MISSION IN GENEVA FROM THE USG ON SEPT 10, 1969.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BIAFRA REPEATS ITS DEEP APPRECIATION OF THE CONTINUING EFFORTS OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE TOWARDS ALLEVIATING THE SUFFERINGS OF THE BIAFRAN VICTIMS OF NIGERIA'S WAR OF GENOCIDE. IN PARTICULAR THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT DEEPLY

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9-24-69

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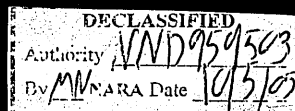
APPRECIATES THE EFFORTS BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO BRING ABOUT AN EARLY RESUMPTION OF RELIEF FLIGHTS BY THE ICRC.

AS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IS AWARE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BIAFRA HAD ACCEPTED THE AGREEMENT PROPOSED BY THE ICRC ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS ON AUGUST 1ST AND THE TECHNICAL MODALITIES OF AUGUST 4. IT IS A MATTER FOR REGRET THAT AFTER BIAFRA HAD ACCEPTED THESE AGREEMENTS THE ICRC ENTERED INTO ANOTHER AGREEMENT WHICH DIFFERED FROM THOSE PROPOSED BY ICRC AND ACCEPTED BY BIAFRA IN MANY SIGNIFICANT DETAILS. FURTHERMORE THE ICRC HAD FAILED TO OBTAIN THE CREDIBLE THIRD PARTY GOVERNMENT GUARANTEES AGAINST ABUSE BY NIGERIA WHICH BIAFRA REQUIRES BEFORE PERMITTING DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS AND WHICH THE ICRC UNDERTOOK IN EARLY AUGUST TO OBTAIN.

IN THIS CONNECTION THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT HAS EXAMINED WITH CLOSE INTEREST THE DECLARATION MADE BY THE U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. WILLIAM ROGERS, IN ORDER TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER THIS DECLARATION WOULD SATISFY BIAFRA'S DEMANDS ON GUARANTEES. THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT REGRETS THAT THIS DECLARATION DOES NOT MEET THE CASE AS IT IS NOT ONLY VAGUE AND INADEQUATE BUT HAS BEEN NULLIFIED BY ARTICLE 6.2 OF THE NEW AGREEMENT SIGNED BY THE ICRC WITH NIGERIA WHICH PROVIDES THAT "THIS AGREEMENT SHALL BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO MILITARY OPERATIONS BY THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT," AT THE SAME TIME ON THE OPERATION ROUTE. THIS PROVISION UNDERMINES THE BASIS OF WHOLE UNDERSTANDING ON DAYLIGHT RELIEF AND UNDERLINES THE NECESSITY FOR EFFECTIVE THIRD PARTY GOVERNMENT SECURITY GUARANTEE AGAINST ABUSE BY NIGERIA. SIGNED L.C.N.
OBI. FRANKFURT/MAIN. 22ND SEPTEMBER, 1969.
UNQUOTE.
BASSIN

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 OTTAWA 01402 242310Z

87
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28,

SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, ID 13, RSR 01, /156 W
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R 242145Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5217

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE OTTAWA 1402

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN RELIEF

1. REF JOHNSON/TOUMANOFF TELCON RE EXTAFF MINISTER
SHARP STATEMENT ON BIAFRA.

2. SEPTEMBER 18 SHARP TAPED CBC INTERVIEW DEALING
WITH BIAFRA. CBC DID NOT BROADCAST INTERVIEW OVER
RADIO OR TV. CANADIAN PRESS USED INTERVIEW HOWEVER
AND RAN STORY GIVING THRUST OF SHARP'S STATEMENT.
CP STORY APPEARED IN SEPTEMBER 22 OTTAWA CITIZEN.
SHARP'S COMMENTS REPRESENT FIRST PUBLIC COMMENT BY
GOC ON POSSIBLE RESUMPTION DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS.

3. COMPLETE TRANSCRIPT SHARP CBC INTERVIEW AND CP
STORY FOLLOW: CP STORY -- QUOTE EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
MINISTER SHARP HAS APPEALED 'TO ANYONE WHO HAS ANY
INFLUENCE WITH BIAFRA' TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO
GET THE BREAKAWAY NIGERIAN STATE TO AGREE TO A RESUMPTION
OF RELIEF FLIGHTS. MR. SHARP SAID IN AN INTERVIEW THAT IT
WAS 'A VERY, VERY GREAT TRAGEDY' THAT BIAFRA REJECTED THE
AGREEMENT, WORKED OUT WITH THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS
AND THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT, TO RESUME THE MERCY MISSIONS.
'SURELY THIS IS A TIME WHEN HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS
SHOULD TAKE PRECEDENT OVER POLITICS,' SAID THE MINISTER.
MR. SHARP HAS HAD RECENT TALKS WITH UNITED NATIONS SECRE-
TARY-GENERAL U THANT, BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY MICHAEL

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19

*Ottawa 1402
9/24/69*

0621

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Authority	VND 9503
By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 OTTAWA 01402 242310Z

STEWART AND FOREIGN MINISTER ABDOU STDIKOU OF NIGER, AND HE SAID ALL THREE FEEL THERE ARE IMPROVED CHANCES FOR PEACE IN NIGERIA. ' BUT A GREAT DEAL REMAINS TO BE DONE.' IN THE MEANTIME, SAID MR. SHARP, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT RELIEF SUPPLIES GET INTO BIAFRA. CANADA, HE ADDED, IS WILLING TO DO EVERYTHING IT CAN, AND 'WE'VE HAD MANY CONTACTS WITH BIAFRA.' HE HOPED TO MEET SOON WITH OFFICIALS OF THE CANAIRELIEF ORGANIZATION, WHICH HAD BEEN FLYING RELIEF SUPPLIES INTO BIAFRA, AND HE HOPED OTHER RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS WOULD TRY TO EXERT THEIR INFLUENCE ON BIAFRA, 'BECAUSE IT IS IN THEIR INTEREST AS WELL TO GET DAYLIGHT MERCY FLIGHTS OPERATING.' HE SAID CANADA IS WILLING TO DONATE MORE FOOD TO BIAFRA, AND TO COOPERATE IN ANY WAY TO RELIEVE SUFFERING THERE. UNQUOTE

CBC INTERVIEW --

Q MR. SHARP, FIRST OF ALL, AFTER YOUR MEETINGS WITH MICHAEL STEWART, U THANT AND PRESIDENT DIORI, ARE WE REALLY ANY NEARER TO PEACE THAN WE WERE?

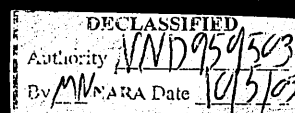
A ALL THREE OF THEM THINK SO. U THANT SAID TO ME THAT HE THOUGHT THE PARTIES WERE CLOSER TOGETHER THAN THEY HAD BEEN IN THE PAST. AT THE MEETING OF THE ORGANIZATION FOR AFRICAN UNITY, FOR EXAMPLE, WHEREAS LAST YEAR THERE WAS SOME OPPOSITION TO THE RESOLUTION, THIS YEAR THERE WAS SOME ABSTENTIONS. HE ALSO SPOKE ABOUT THE TALKS THAT HAD BEEN GOING ON BOTH IN THE CONFERENCE ITSELF AND ELSEWHERE. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF NIGER, THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS THAT I SPOKE WITH, BOTH SPOKE ABOUT HOW THE PARTIES WERE COMING CLOSER TOGETHER, AND MICHAEL STEWART IS OF THE SAME VIEW. NOW THERE ARE LOTS OF DIFFICULTIES THAT LIE AHEAD AND I AM VERY PLEASED THAT AT LEAST THERE SEEMS TO BE SOME HOPE.

Q HAS IT GONE FAR ENOUGH, TO THE POINT WHERE WE CAN NOW TAKE SOME ACTION?

A WELL, WE HAVE BEEN TAKING ACTION. WE HAVE BEEN WORKING WITH ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED IN THIS. PARTICULARLY,

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03 OTTAWA 01402 242310Z

OF COURSE, ON THE RELIEF, AND THERE I AM VERY, VERY GREATLY DISAPPOINTED. THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS AFTER PATIENT EFFORTS WORKED OUT AN AGREEMENT WHICH IS ACCEPTED AND SIGNED BY THE NIGERIAN AUTHORITIES BUT HAS BEEN REJECTED BY BIAFRA. AND I DO APPEAL TO EVERYONE WHO HAS ANY INFLUENCE WHATEVER- WITH EITHER SIDE - TO TRY TO GET AGREEMENT ON THE MOVEMENT OF SUPPLIES BY AIRLIFT, IN DAYLIGHT - IT IS MOST URGENT, AND PARTICULARLY I URGE THOSE WHO HAVE DIRECT CONTACTS AS WE HAVE WITH BIAFRA TO URGE THE BIAFRAN AUTHORITIES TO ACCEPT THIS AGREEMENT. WE HAVE URGED THEM TO DO SO. I HOPE THOSE WHO ARE WORKING ON BEHALF OF BIAFRA WILL URGE THE AUTHORITIES OF THAT COUNTRY TO DO LIKEWISE.

Q WE ARE SPEAKING DIRECTLY TO BIAFRA NOW, ARE WE, DESPITE THE FACT THAT WE DO NOT RECOGNIZE THE GOVERNMENT?

A YES, WE HAVE BEEN, WE HAVE ALWAYS HAD SOME CONTACT. WE HAVE ALWAYS LET THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT KNOW ABOUT IT BECAUSE WE HAVE DIRECT DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT. BUT WE HAVE HAD, WITH THEIR CONSENT, MANY CONTACTS. AND, OF COURSE, THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS HAS BEEN WORKING WITH BOTH SIDES, WITH THE AGREEMENT OF BOTH SIDES.

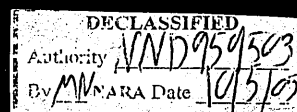
Q WHAT IS THE PROBLEM, WHY IS BIAFRA BEING SO ADAMANT ABOUT THIS? ARE THEY PLAYING POLITICS OR DO THEY HAVE LEGITIMATE FEARS?

A I REALLY DO NOT KNOW. THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS WORKED OUT AN AGREEMENT THEY THOUGHT WAS SATISFACTORY TO BOTH SIDES AND IT DOES SEEM TO ME THAT ONCE AGAIN POLITICS IS BEING PUT AHEAD OF HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS. I THINK IT IS A GREAT, GREAT TRAGEDY. YOU KNOW THE NIGERIANS ARE WILLING TO FEED THE BIAFRANS AND HAVE BEEN FOR A LONG TIME, AND THE BIAFRANS HAVE TURNED DOWN THE AGREEMENT ON POLITICAL GROUNDS. I UNDERSTAND THEY HAVE DIFFICULTIES, BUT SURELY THIS IS A TIME WHEN HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS SHOULD TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER POLITICS.

Q YOU SAY THAT THOSE WHO SPEAK FOR BIAFRA SHOULD DO

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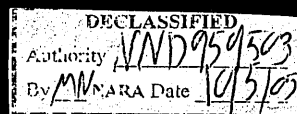
PAGE 04 OTTAWA 01402 242310Z

WHAT THEY CAN TO TALK THEM INTO ACCEPTING IT? WHOM ARE YOU REFERRING TO?

A I THINK OF THE PEOPLE WHO ARE ENGAGED IN PROVIDING RELIEF TO BIAFRA, IN PARTICULAR THE CHURCH GROUPS WHO HAVE BEEN MAKING THE FLIGHTS AT NIGHT AND ARE CONTINUING TO DO SO. THEY ARE IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE BIAFRAN AUTHORITIES. IT IS IN THEIR INTEREST AS IT IS IN EVERYONE'S INTEREST TO GET DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS UNDERWAY WHERE THERE IS NO MIXUP WITH ARM SHIPMENTS, WHEN LARGE AMOUNTS OF FOOD CAN MOVE IN. WE HAVE OFFERED TO SUPPLY INSPECTORS, WE WOULD SUPPLY ANYTHING THAT WAS REASONABLE IN ORDER TO MOVE IN FOOD. WE ARE READY TO GIVE MORE FOOD. HERE WE HAVE AN INTERNATIONAL AGENCY WHICH HAS WORKED OUT AN AGREEMENT - NOW FRUSTRATED ON WHAT APPEARS TO US TO BE A POLITICAL DIFFICULTY. UNQUOTE
SCHMIDT

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106

POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

162282

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INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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12
24 SEP 69 19 14z
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Origin
Info

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS Priority

INFO: Amembassy USUN
Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy PARIS
Amembassy THE HAGUE
Amembassy GENEVA
Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
Amembassy COTONOU
Amembassy LIBREVILLE
Amembassy SANTA ISABEL

STATE _____

REF: State 162050

1. Request you pass to Omo-Bare following letter from Ferguson:
(Begin Text)
2. Dear Mr. Commissioner: I hope to have the opportunity to visit Lagos in early October to confer with Nigerian officials on matters relating to my relief mandate. I ~~am~~ trust that this time I will also be able to visit the field for an ^{up-dated survey} ~~update~~ on the excellent progress I understand ^{you are} ~~your Government is~~ making in providing relief to the needy along the battle lines.
3. In conjunction with this, I am planning that Mr. Arthur E.

10

Drafted by: U/CF: AEDewey 9/24/69
Tel. Ext. 23256
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: U/CF: CCFerguson, Jr. CCF
Clearance: AF/SN: Mr. Sher...
AFR/CWA: Miss Wilson
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ S/PC - Mr. Ruser CWR

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

0625

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Authority VMD959503
By MVA Date 10/5/03

TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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Origin
 Info:

ACTION: Page 2 Amembassy LAGOS

Dewey will accompany me. He is my assistant charged with the logistics of relief distribution and could hopefully take a more detailed look at the relief picture all around the war perimeter, beginning approximately September 30. He would be accompanied by an additional staff member and a food specialist from our AID mission in Lagos. I would ~~hope~~ hope to join them for a few days, perhaps through a flight out to Enugu or Port Harcourt.

4. I believe this will better enable us to document for our constituencies the extraordinary relief job that is being done in the Federally controlled areas as well as to explore mutually additional ways in which we ~~may~~ might be able to help. In this Rehabilitation Commission context, could someone from the ~~Nigerian government~~ accompany the survey team~~2~~ to represent the Nigerian government?

5. I would welcome your comments and ideas concerning the proposed visit.

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Clearances:		

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

0626

DECLASSIFIED
 Authority VND 959/503
 By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05

TELEGRAM Department of State

LEVEL: ☐ COLLECT
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Origin

ACTION: Page X3 Amembassy LAGOS

Info:

Sincerely, C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr., Special Coordinator for
Nigerian Relief. (End Text)

END

9/24/69

Drafted by:

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

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FORM
8-65 DS-322

0627

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 954503
By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05

DEPARTMENT OF STATE TRANSMITTAL SLIP		CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
DATE <u>September 23, 1969</u>		For the Attention of <u>AF/SN</u>
TO U. S. Department of State		
FROM POL:FDrapeer		
TO THE FOREIGN SERVICE		TO THE DEPARTMENT
<input type="checkbox"/> For transmittal to Addressee at the Discretion of Post <input type="checkbox"/> Post Information Only <input type="checkbox"/> Transmit to Foreign Office <input type="checkbox"/> Submit Report <input type="checkbox"/> Reply to the Individual		<input type="checkbox"/> Dept. Information Only <input type="checkbox"/> CERP Publications <input type="checkbox"/> Enclosure to Previous Airgram <input type="checkbox"/> Reply to Department Request
<input type="checkbox"/> Transmit to: (U. S. Agency) <input type="checkbox"/> Inform:		<i>Letter from +</i> <i>for 27-9 Briefing - Nigeria</i>
REFERENCE		
ITEMS / REMARKS FOR YOUR INFORMATION <i>Relief Supplies for Nigeria</i>		
IN REPLY REFER TO FILE NUMBER AND DRAFTING OFFICE		
FILE NO.	SIGNATURE <i>[Signature]</i>	
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED	OFFICE POL	

FORM DS-4, 12-64

O-118

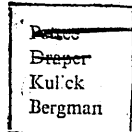
0628

DECLASSIFIED
 Authority *VND959503*
 By *MV* NARA Date *10/5/05*

POR.
U.S.A. Embassy

Pol

EMBASSY OF NIGERIA



(2)
P. O. Box 1019,
Addis Ababa.

Note No. 177/NEAS.206

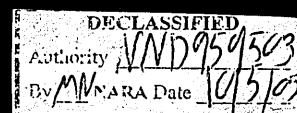
The Embassy of the Federal Republic of Nigeria presents its compliments to all the Diplomatic and Consular Missions in Addis Ababa and has the honour to draw their attention to the latest development in the efforts to get relief supplies to the rebel-held areas of Nigeria and to enclose herewith, for information, a copy of the relevant article of the 1949 Geneva Convention on relief supplies under conditions of a civil war. For humanitarian considerations, and in response to pleas from well-meaning friendly countries, the Nigerian Government, on September 13, 1969 signed an agreement with the International Committee of the Red Cross (I.C.R.C.) on relief flights to the rebel enclave for an experimental period of three weeks. The agreement provided that all relief flights would be in daylight hours between 9 o'clock in the morning and 5 o'clock in the evening and that inspection of cargo and passengers would be carried out at Cotonou (Dahomey) by three inspectors each of whom would be appointed by the Nigerian Government, the Dahomeian Government and the I.C.R.C. respectively. The Nigerian Government could, under the agreement, request any aircraft to land in Lagos for inspection.

Two days ago, it was announced that the rebels had rejected this arrangement because they feared "the Nigerians could take military advantage of the arrangement". The secessionists are of the opinion that Nigeria could use the relief planes to land commandos on their airstrip. But it is unrealistic, militarily, to send twenty to thirty commandos (in the day time) to take

Soc/ICRC file
Pol 27-9
Birda - Nigeria

...../2

0629



Uli Ihiala which is known to be one of the most defended positions still in the hands of the rebels. The secessionists have themselves admitted that should commandos be put on relief planes they "could take care of that." Finally, if the Nigerian Government had planned to take military advantage of the relief flights, as imagined by the secessionists, then it would not have insisted on daylight flights only. It would be much safer to land commandos at Uli during the night. Indeed, as remarked by a spokesman for a leading European world power "..... the arrangements offer a workable solution which would not prejudice the military or political positions or interests of either side in the conflict".

It is clear that the rebels have rejected this new proposal because

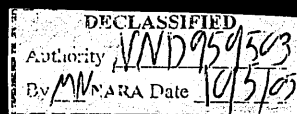
- (i) it does not afford them the opportunity to fly in arms under cover of relief flights; and
- (ii) it would have meant they could no longer use starvation as a propaganda weapon. But it also shows the callous indifference of the rebel leadership to the suffering of the civilians under their control.

It is to be noted that this latest action of the rebels on relief supplies has been openly deplored by at least two world powers who apparently were not convinced by the reasons given by the secessionists for turning down the proposal.

However, the Nigerian Government, for humanitarian reasons, is unrelenting in its efforts to see that genuine relief supplies get to the secessionists without taking full advantage of its rights under the 1949 Geneva Convention.

.../3

0630



- 3 -

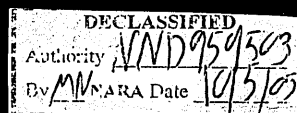
The Embassy of the Federal Republic of Nigeria avails itself of this opportunity to renew to all the Diplomatic and Consular Missions in Addis Ababa the assurances of its highest consideration.

Addis Ababa September 17, 1969



To All the Diplomatic and
Consular Missions in
Addis Ababa.

0631



26

1949 Geneva Convention Pertinent
to Situation of Civil War.

"Aircraft exclusively employed for the removal of wounded and sick civilians, the infirm and maternity cases, or for the transport of medical personnel and equipment, shall not be attacked, but shall be respected while flying at heights, times and on routes specifically agreed upon between all the Parties to the conflict concerned."

"Such aircraft shall obey every summons to land. In the event of a landing thus imposed, the aircraft with its occupants may continue its flight after examination, if any".

"Each High Contracting Party shall allow the free passage of all consignments of medical and hospital stores and objects necessary for religious worship intended only for civilians of another High Contracting Party, even if the latter is its adversary. It shall likewise permit the free passage of all consignments of essential foodstuffs, clothing and tonics intended for the children under fifteen, expectant mothers and maternity cases."

"The obligation of a High Contracting Party to allow the free passage of the consignments indicated in the preceding paragraph is subject to the condition that this Party is satisfied that there are no serious reasons for fearing:

- (a) that the consignments may be diverted from their destination.
- (b) that the control may not be effective, or
- (c) that a definite advantage may accrue to the military efforts or economy of the enemy through the substitution of the above-mentioned consignments for goods which would otherwise be provided or produced by the enemy or through the release of such material, services or facilities as would otherwise be required for the production of such goods.

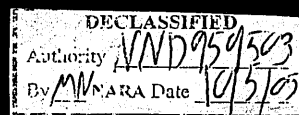
The Power which allows the passage of the consignments indicated in the first paragraph of this Article may make such permission conditional on the distribution to the persons benefited thereby being made under the local supervision of the Protecting Powers.

Such consignments shall be forwarded as rapidly as possible, and the Power which permits their free passage shall have the right to prescribe the technical arrangements under which such passage is allowed."

"A Power granting free passage to consignments on their way to territory occupied by an adverse Party to the conflict shall, however have the right to search the consignments, to regulate their passage according to prescribed times and routes, and to be reasonably satisfied through the Protecting Power that these consignments are to be used for the relief of the needy population and are not to be used for the benefit of the Occupying Power".

PC 27-9
Bridges - Rogers

0632





Pol 27 Biafra-Nigeria
VR Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 492

PAGE 01 MONROV 04306 231905Z

91
ACTION AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 01, E 15, DOT 12,

ACDA 16, SR 01, ORM 03, TRSY 11, CIRE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INRI 07

L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01

/193. W

072140

R 231734Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7683
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 4306

SUBJECT: ADDITIONAL LIBERIAN CONTRIBUTION TO NIGERIAN RELIEF

REF: STATE 123842 *Pol 27 Biafra-Nigeria*
VR Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria

ACCORDING LIBERIAN AGE SEPTEMBER 23 GOL HAS MADE ADDITIONAL
CONTRIBUTION OF \$10,000 TO ICRC FOR NIGERIAN RELIEF. MONEY
DESCRIBED AS "BALANCE" COLLECTED FROM PUBLIC FOR NIGERIAN
RELIEF LAST YEAR. PREVIOUS DONATION WAS FOR \$25,000.
HOWISON
BT

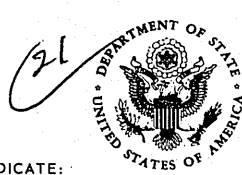
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Monrovia
4306
69-02-6

0633

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Authority VND959503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



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TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 Biafra
161986
Nigeria
44B

23 SEP 69 23 57z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy ROME PRIORITY

STATE _____

REF: Rome 6051

LIMDIS

FOR BRUBECK FROM FERGUSON

1. Don't raise in Rome since Bayer already indicated negative response (Rome 5500).
2. U/CF planning continue discussions/^{this}subject Geneva JCA. Issue raised with Chenard/~~Raised~~ by Ferguson with Chenard in August/~~leading~~ led to Berg contact FMG in Istanbul.
3. Believe best prospect/~~is~~ ^{with whom pursue question} Chenard/~~you ask~~. Strong opposition from ^{some} ~~other~~ components JCA to legalization to be expected.
4. Further ~~service~~ instructions to cover your stops other capitals follow.

RICHARDSON

DRAFTED BY: U/CF - JPope	DRAFTING DATE 9/23/69	TEL. EXT. 29476	APPROVED BY: U/CF - GCFerguson Jr.
CLEARANCES: AF/SN - G. Sherry	U/CF - SSchott		

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Authority VMD 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 221

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03417 231819Z

50
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, AID 28, SR 01,

ORM 03, RSR 01, SSD 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, CCO 00, 1447

071660

P R 231800Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3061
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USUN NEW YORK 3744

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3417

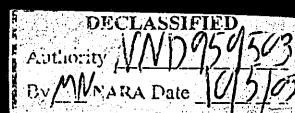
SUBJ: NIGERIA-ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REF: A) GENEVA 3399; 2) TELECON GUTMAN/DAVIDSON/DEWEY 9-23-69

FOLLOWING IS SUMMARY OF OBI'S CALL THIS P.M. ON CHARGE
AND U/CF REPS: A) OBI HANDED CHARGE REPLY (SEE SEPT 10)
TO COMMUNICATIONS MADE BY AMBASSADOR TUBBY ON SEPT 10.
OBI ALSO PRESENTED LENGTHY (BEING POUCHED) DOCUMENT WHICH
RECALLS EARLY FMG VIOLATIONS OF AGREEMENTS AND DETAILS
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ORIGINAL ICRC PROPOSAL AND VERSION
ACCEPTED BY FMG. B) OBI MADE NO REPEAT NO NEW POINTS. BOTH
SIDES WENT AT SOME LENGTH OVER FAMILIAR GROUND PREVIOUSLY
COVERED. IN ANSWER TO QUESTION RE PROGRESSIVELY WORSENING
CONDITIONS IN WAKE BIAFRAN REJECTION, OBI DRAMATICALLY
REPLIED "MORITURI TE SALUTANT" ADDING THAT IMPORTANT
THING WAS IDE EVEN IF "ONLY TWO SURVIVED WITH IT".
ALTHOUGH "THE MORE SURVIVORS THE BETTER OF COURSE".
C) RE EARLIER MEETING TODAY WITH FREYMOND, OBI WAS
UNSPECIFIC BUT CLAIMED THAT HE HAD MADE SAME POINTS.
HE HAD ALSO SUGGESTED THAT HIGH LEVEL ICRC NEGOTIATOR
BE DISPATCHED TO BIAFRA SO THAT ICRC COULD GAIN BETTER

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0635





Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 09417 231819Z

UNDERSTANDING OF THE SITUATION. D) OBI IS MEETING
CANADIAN REP LATER THIS P.M., AND WILL SEE BELGIAN REP.
AND BIGAMI TOMORROW A.M. RE CANADIANS HE SAID THAT
GOC STATEMENT LESS NEGATIVE THAN THOSE BY OTHER
GOVERNMENTS WHICH WERE "TWISTING BIAFRA'S ARMS". E)
OBI AGAIN SUGGESTED RESUMPTION OF ICRC NIGHT FLIGHTS
OR ADDED ASSISTANCE BY USG TO CHURCHES IN ORDER
INCREASE THEIR NIGHT FLIGHTS.

COMMENT: OBI GAVE PRETTY CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT BIAFRANS HAVE
DECIDED DO WITHOUT DAY FLIGHTS UNLESS DISADVANTAGES
TO THEM WILL BE COMPENSATED BY STRONG POLITICAL
ADVANTAGES ASSOCIATED WITH TYPE OF GUARANTEES WHICH THEY FULLY
AWARE ARE OUT OF QUESTION. CHARGE SUMMED UP BY CALLING OBI'S
POSITION AND ARGUMENTS UNCHANGED. OBI MAY CONTACT US AGAIN
TOMORROW. QUE LATE HOUR OUR MEETING WITH OBI IT IS IMPOSSIBLE
COMPARE NOTES WITH ICRC BEFORE TOMORROW A.M.
BASSIN.

CONFIDENTIAL

0636

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 954503
By	MN NARA Date 10/5/05



JOINT CHURCH AID (INTERNATIONAL)

11, rue de Cornavin 1201 Geneva Switzerland

Telephone: (022) 31 46 52
Cable: CATHWEL Geneva
Telex: 23866 CRS CH

September 23, 1969.

ACTION
is assigned to

EUP

AF

Dear Mr. Secretary,

On behalf of the Executive Working Group of Joint Church Aid (JCA) International we should like to place on record our appreciation of the excellent rapport which has existed between the United States Mission in Geneva and Joint Church Aid in regard to humanitarian help for victims of the Nigeria/Biafra conflict. This was possible through the cooperation and understanding of your Ambassador, Mr. Roger Wellington Tubby who was ever ready to meet with JCA representatives.

We understand that Ambassador Tubby has been reassigned to an important post in the State Department and we, together with his many friends in Geneva, will miss his wise counsel.

We would not like to conclude this letter without also expressing the admiration which members of the Joint Church Aid consortium have for the generous assistance which the Government and people of the United States have provided through Joint Church Aid/U.S.A.

Sincerely,

Jean J. Chenard
Coordinator - Information
& International Relations

2

9-29-69

The Honorable William P. Rogers
Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington D.C.

22399

RS/AN
ANALYSIS BRANCH

1969 SEP 29 PM 2 35

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PER 6-3 GENEVA

XR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Participating Members: Caritas Internationalis; Canada Air Relief; Helvetia-Hilfswerk der Evangelischen Kirchen in der Schweiz; Schweizerischer Caritasverband; Holland Dutch Interchurch Aid; Mensen in Nood; Germany - Das Diakonische Werk; Deutscher Caritasverband; Norddeutscher (Denmark-Folketkirkens) Nothjelp; Finland-Kirkon Ulkomaanpu; Norway-Kirkens Nothjelp; Sweden-Lutherska; Joint Church Aid-U.S.A. (American Jewish Committee, Church World Service, Catholic Relief Services-used)

Rev. 8 Jan. 68

0637

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MW NARA Date 10/5/05

66

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

160963

35B

22 SEP 69 22 12z

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Origin
Info:

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

INFO: Amembassy LONDON
PARIS
US MISSION GENEVA
Amconsul IBADAN
KADUNA

SUBJECT: Nigeria = Press Backgrounder by Amb. Ferguson

1. Ambassador Ferguson at background press conference September 22 discussed ICRC relief efforts and current ~~statements~~ stalemate. Said while not placing onus on one side or other, U.S. disappointed rebels refuse to accept ICRC-FMG agreement, which is reasonable and statesmanlike plan that would help alleviate critical need for food and medicines in enclave. Drew attention to FMG assurances that Uli would not be subjected to attack during relief operations. Expressed U.S. hope that negotiations will continue ^{towards} ~~to get~~ agreement to ICRC daylight flight plan.
2. Ambassador discussed health-medical situation in enclave, and noted acute protein shortages and U.S. assisted ICRC anti-tuberculosis program begun in August.
3. U.S. sponsored relief efforts on FMG side also mentioned by Ambassador, especially program to train Nigerians to take over management responsibility for relief and eventual rehabilitation of their country. Ambassador said that the two SS LSM's are being used by ICRC to move food stocks to Port Harcourt and Calabar from warehouses in Lagos and Koko. Full text of briefing upcoming.
END

160963

Drafted by:

U/CF:JHope - AF/P:WCPower

Tel. Ext.
22033Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

U/CF - Amb. Ferguson

Clearances:

AF/P - WCPower
AF/SN - GBSherryS/PRS - Mr. Thirkield
Mr. Jackson (Subs)

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

FORM
8-65 DS-322

0638

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
TR POL 171166RIA-US
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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51 42
ACTION SS 70

INFO: OCT 01, CCO: 00, SSO: 00, NSCE: 00, 1071 W

063692

O 221412Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9108

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 8488

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: DRAFT ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR AMBASSADOR TRUEHEART

REF: LAGOS 8484 Pol 27-9 Biafra Nigeria

1. THERE FOLLOWS SUGGESTED DRAFT ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR AMBASSADOR TRUEHEART.

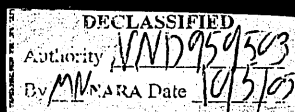
BEGIN TEXT. "IT IS CUSTOMARY FOR A NEW AMBASSADOR ARRIVING IN A COUNTRY TO ISSUE A STATEMENT CONTAINING PLATITUDES AND GENERALITIES. IT IS TEMPTING FOR ME TO DO SO TODAY. BUT YOU AND I KNOW THE ISSUES FACING NIGERIA TODAY, AND RELATIONS BETWEEN NIGERIA AND THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT PERMIT AVOIDANCE OF CERTAIN HARD AND TROUBLESOME FACTS. IT MAY BE, HOWEVER, THAT IN FACING THESE ISSUES SQUARELY NIGERIANS AND AMERICANS CAN BETTER UNDERSTAND ONE ANOTHER."

"FIRST, NIGERIANS ARE FIGHTING NIGERIANS IN A BITTER CIVIL WAR TO RESOLVE WHETHER THIS COUNTRY CAN SURVIVE AS AN IMPORTANT, VIABLE NATIONAL ENTITY--OR WHETHER IT MAY FRAGMENT AS ONE ETHNIC GROUP ATTEMPTS SECESSION. MY GOVERNMENT AND AMERICANS UNDERSTAND THIS TRAGIC DILEMMA. AMERICA'S SURVIVAL AS A NATION WAS ONCE SO THREATENED AND WE FOUGHT A FOUR-YEAR WAR TO INSURE "ONE NATION...INDIVISIBLE..."

(2) "SECONDLY, NIGERIA'S PROBLEM OF RECONCILIATION OF HER DIVERSE ETHNIC GROUPS COULD BECOME A MAJOR PROBLEM AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR. AGAIN RECONCILIATION OF DIFFERING PEOPLE BECAUSE OF RACE, RELIGION, AND NATIONAL ORIGIN HAS BEEN A PROBLEM WITH WHICH MY COUNTRY HAS BEEN SEIZED FOR YEARS AND WHICH

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08488 221453Z

NOW EMPLOYS OUR FULLEST ENERGIES AND RESOURCES. AMERICA UNDERSTANDS THAT THIS NIGERIAN PROBLEM IS NOT UNIQUE.

"THIRDLY, BECAUSE AMERICA IS A FEDERATION OF 50 PROUD AND DIFFERENT STATES, WE APPRECIATE THE PROBLEMS IMPLICIT IN NIGERIA'S NEW FEDERAL VS. STATES RELATIONSHIPS.

"OUR COUNTRIES ARE LARGE AND HAVE GREAT ECONOMIC POTENTIAL. MORE IMPORTANTLY, BOTH HAVE GREAT HUMAN TALENT. THE EXTENT TO WHICH WE, YOUR NATION AND MINE, SUCCESSFULLY HARNESS THE TREMENDOUS HUMAN RESOURCES WITH WHICH WE ARE BOTH ENDOWED MAY BE THE MEASURE BY WHICH WE ARE JUDGED.

"FINALLY, PERMIT ME TO REITERATE FOR THE RECORD THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES--REPEATED ATTEMPTS BY COUNTERPROPAGANDISTS TO THE CONTRARY--HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT SUPPORTS THE CONCEPT OF "ONE NIGERIA". MY GOVERNMENT IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE INNOCENT VICTIMS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE WAR, BUT LET NO ONE CONFUSE THIS CONCERN WITH OUR CLEAR POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR THE "ONE NIGERIA" ON WHICH THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY INSIST.

"WE UNDERSTAND THE CONCERN OF THE 180 PEOPLE FOR PROTECTION AND FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WITHIN THE COUNTRY. THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONCERN IS REFLECTED CLEARLY IN THE FAR-REACHING SECURITY GUARANTEES IT HAS OFFERED.

"MRS. TRUEHEART AND I ARE GENUINELY PLEASED TO BE HERE. WE SOLICIT YOUR UNDERSTANDING AS WE EMBARK ON OUR FIRST DAYS IN A NEW COUNTRY." END TEXT. GP-3
OLSON

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0640

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MMNARA
Date	10/5/05

L I M D I S

TOP SECRET

I N C O M I N G

Screener

POST Lagos

SERIAL 8488

(Time Received)

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Principals and "S" Area

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Geographic

AF 5 X 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

Functional

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Other

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01,

ORM 03, SSO 00, CCO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, RSR 01,

ACDA 16, 160 W

057239

P R 201200Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9098
USMISSION GENEVA
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 8475

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF: DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REF : GENEVA 3380

1. WITH REFERENCE PARA 5 REFTEL, WE DO NOT RPT NOT HAVE DOCUMENT CONTAINING QTE PARA 7 (C) UNQTE, BUT WE UNDERSTAND THIS TO BE AS DESCRIBED, THAT IS QTE TOP SECRET NAF INSTRUCTIONS UNQTE, WHICH SHOWN TO BIGNAMI. BIGNAMI AND HOCKE HAVE MADE EFFORT GET NAF TO CHANGE THIS ORDER WHICH OF COURSE IS NOT RPT NOT PART OF AGREEMENT BUT MERELY INTERNAL DOCUMENT.

2. HOCKE TOLD US YESTERDAY THAT RATIONALE BEHIND NAF PROPOSAL WAS FEAR ON THE PART OF THE MILITARY THAT THE ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHT OPERATION WOULD NEUTRALIZE NAF OPERATIONS AROUND ULI. HOWEVER, HOCKE SEEMED CONVINCED THAT ALAO, CHIEF NAF, WHO MAKES ULTIMATE DECISION THIS MATTER IS PREPARED TO REFRAIN FROM ISSUING SUCH ORDERS. ALAO HAS ASKED FOR 48-HOUR NOTICE BEFORE ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS START AND HAS ASSURED HOCKE THAT IN THAT TIME

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SOLUTION WILL BE FOUND FOR PROBLEM WHICH QTE PARA 7 (C)
UNQTE POSES FOR ICRC GP-3
OLSON

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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45
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, SS 20, INR 07, RSR 01, RSC 01, SSO 00, /061 W
064995

P 221743Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9119
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 8508

HOCKE REQUESTS FOLLOWING MESSAGE BE HANDED BIGNAMI
(ICRC) MORNING 23 SEPTEMBER

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF - DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

BEGIN TEXT: EDDIE MEA NE PENSE PAS ARRIVER A
SUPPRIMER 7C MAIS S'EFFORCE D'OBTENIR FORMULATION
PLUS RESTRICTIVE QUI POURRAIT ETRE COMME INDIQUE
DOUBLEE PAR ACCORD AVEC ALAO AVANT REPRISE EFFECTIVE
VOLS STOP DEMANDE DE NE PAS CONSIDERER TEXTE 7C
COMME DEFINITIF ET DE DONNER DEUX A TROIS JOURS
A EDDIE. SIGNED HOCKE. END TEXT. GP-4.
OLSON
BT

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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XL SOC 3 Red Cross

POL 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria

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45
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, /071 W

064669

P 221618Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE PRIORITY 2471
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 6051

LIMDIS

FOR NEWSOM FROM BRUBECK

② 1. IN LAGOS I GOT STRONG IMPRESSION THAT, IF ICRC PROGRAM SHOULD, FMG WOULD HAVE STRONG INTEREST IN LEGALIZATION JCA. AS NOTED IN REPORTS MY TALKS LAGOS THEY HAVE TALKED WITH JCA RE POSSIBILITY OF LEGALIZATION, POSSIBLY BY SAO TOME FLIGHTS LANDING COTONOU FOR INSPECTION THEN PROCEEDING PER ICRC ROUTINE. THUS, IN ADDITION TO EVIDENCE OF INTEREST OF SOME JCA COMPONENTS IN LEGALIZATION, THERE REASON BELIEVE FMG SUFFICIENTLY INTERESTED TO BE COOPERATIVE.

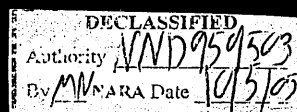
2. THERE ALSO APPEARS PROSPECT, FROM EVIDENCE LAST SEVERAL WEEKS, THAT GROWING NAF CAPACITY FOR HARASSMENT ULI MAY MAKE JCA LIFT MORE DANGEROUS AND LESS EFFECTIVE. THUS JCA MAY HAVE INDUCEMENT TO WANT LEGALIZATION. CERTAINLY, SHOOT DOWN OR FORCE DOWN OF JCA PLANE BY FMG, PARTICULARLY AMERICAN-CREWED PLANE, HOLDS POSSIBILITY FOR DEEPER TROUBLE FOR USG.

3. IN VIEW THESE FACTORS, ARE DEPT AND AMB FERGUSON CONSIDERING POSSIBLE EFFORT GET JCA TO ATTEMPT PERSUADE BIAFRANS TO AGREE TO ICRC PROGRAM? IF ICRC-BIAFRAN NEGOTIATION GOING TO STRETCH OUT FOR SOMETIME WOULD APPEAR TO BE OPPORTUNITY APPROACH JCA AND SEEK ENLIST THEIR HELP. WHILE I RECOGNIZE

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Rome 6051
9/22/69

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PAGE 02 ROME 06051 221724Z

DIFFICULTIES, BELIEVE JCA COULD BE CRUCIAL FORCE
ON BIAFRANS AND THE SERIOUS PROBLEM AHEAD FOR
USG IF PROGRAM FAILS MIGHT COMMEND SUCH
APPROACH.

4. I WILL BE TALKING IN NEXT TWO WEEKS TO SOME OF
KEY GOVERNMENTS THAT MIGHT BE HELPFUL WITH THEIR
NATIONAL COMPONENTS JCA IN SUCH AN EFFORT.
WOULD APPRECIATE DEPT AND U/CF GUIDANCE AS TO
WHETHER AND HOW TO EXPLORE QUESTION IN MY TALKS.

5. MOST PARTICULARLY, WILL BE TALKING GOI AND
VATICAN ON 25TH. BELIEVE ABOVE SUBJECT COULD BE
BEST RAISED BY AMB FERGUSON IF HIS SCHEDULE
MAKES FEASIBLE. BUT WOULD APPRECIATE HIS AND
YOUR ADVICE ON WHAT I SHOULD DO. FOR EXAMPLE,
SHOULD I SEEK TALK WITH BAYER AT VATICAN RE
ABOVE? GP-1.
STABLER

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By	MV NARA Date 10/3/05

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Principals and
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Geographic

AF 5
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EUR 10
NEA 8

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AID 12
TRSY 6
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POL 27-9 BIAPCA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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43
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20,

SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, AID 28, UPW 01, RSR 01, USIE 00, 138 W

064944

O R 221745Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3045
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USUN NEW YORK 3739

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3399

STATE FOR U/CFI

SUBJ: NIGERIA

OBI CALLED U/CFI REP GENEVA FROM FRANKFURT TO REQUEST
APPOINTMENT WITH CHARGE AND U/CFI REPS. WE EXPECT TO SEE HIM
TOMORROW (SEPT. 23) NOON.
BASSIN

GENEVA-
9-22-69
3399

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0648

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
XR DEF 12-5 BIAFRA
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*Libreville 975
9-22-69*

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ACTION: INR 07

INFO: OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODEI 00, JPM 04, H 02, L 03, NSAE 00,
NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, MC 02, ACDA 16,
SR 01, ORM 03, UCF 05, EUR 17, RSR 01, 162 W
..... 065362

R 221620Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2823
INFO USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL LIBREVILLE 975

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN AIRLIFT

REF: SICR-DCDB 21909 (DIA)

1. PRESUMED ARMS FLIGHTS SINCE SEPTEMBER 15:

- A. DC-4 F-BBDD NIGHTLY SEPTEMBER 15 THROUGH 21 (7 FLIGHTS)
- B. DC-7 TR-LOK NIGHTLY SEPTEMBER 14 THROUGH 18, 20 THROUGH 21 (6 FLIGHTS)
- C. DC-7 (OBLIT. REG. NO.) NIGHTLY SEPTEMBER 15 THROUGH 18 (4 FLIGHTS).

2. PRESUMED RELIEF FLIGHTS SINCE SEPTEMBER 15:

- A. DC-4 F-BRAP NIGHTS SEPTEMBER 15, 17 THROUGH 21 (6 FLIGHTS)
- B. DC-4 F-BRHE NIGHTS SEPTEMBER 19 THROUGH 21 (3 FLIGHTS)
- C. DC-6 00-HEX NIGHTLY SEPTEMBER 15 THROUGH 19 (5 FLIGHTS)

3. REMARKS:

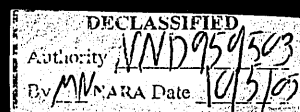
- A. RELIEF CARRIER F-BRHE, DOWN FOR REPAIRS SINCE ITS ARRIVAL HERE EARLY THIS MONTH, NOW APPARENTLY IN REGULAR OPERATION.

(2)

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PAGE 02 LIBREV 00975 221915Z

B. RELIEF CARRIER OO-HEX, BIAS AIRCRAFT UNDER CHARTER TO "OPERATION AFRICAN CONCERN", DEPARTED WILLI FULL LOAD PAX INCLUDING WOMEN AND CHILDREN EVENING SEPTEMBER 21, PRESUMABLY BOUND FOR EUROPEAN DESTINATION. HAS NOT YET RETURNED.

C. PRESUMED ARMS CARRIER DC-7 (OBLIT.) DEPARTED LIBREVILLE SEPTEMBER 20 RPT 20 AND HAS NOT YET RETURNED. GP-4 FUNKHOUSER

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05



ORIG 7AF/SN
TRPOL 279 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State
TELEGRAM

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01 10 13 EUR 17 AID 28 SRI 01 ORM 03 SCA 01 SCG 04 UPW 01

UCF 05 SSO 00 CCO 00 NSCEI 00 USIE 00 CIAEI 00 DODE 00 JPM 04 H 02

INR 07 L 03 NSAE 00 NSC 10 P 03 RSC 01 PRS 01 SS 20 RSR 01 144 W
057151

P R 201135Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9096
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 8473

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF JCA C-97S

REF: (A) STATE 158473 (B) STATE 157842 (C) LAGOS 8375

1. I HAVE DISCUSSED WITH BRUBECK QUESTION RAISING ISSUE OF JCA C-97S DURING HIS VISIT IN LAGOS AND ADVISED AGAINST. ACCORDINGLY, HE DECIDED NOT REPEAT NOT RAISE SUBJECT EITHER WITH ARIKPO THURSDAY NOR IN MEETING WITH GOWON YESTERDAY AFTERNOON. IN MY OPINION, TIMING WOULD HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY BAD IN LIGHT RECENT USE HEAVY-HANDED PRESSURE TO BRING ABOUT ICRC-FMG DAYLIGHT FLIGHT AGREEMENT. I CANNOT IMAGINE A TIME WHEN FMG NERVES WOULD HAVE BEEN MORE RAW THAN NOW AND HERE IN LAGOS, AND I DID BELIEVE THERE RISK OF REDUCING UTILITY BRUBECK VISIT IF MATTER RAISED NOW. FROM BEGINNING GOWON HAS BEEN MOST SENSITIVE MEMBER FMG ON C-97 QUESTION. HIS VERY SINCERITY AND TENDENCY TRUST OTHERS ACCENTUATES HIS SENSITIVITY TO ANY REAL OR IMAGINED SUBTERFUGE. I THOUGHT IT PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT, THEREFORE, THAT MATTER NOT BE RAISED WITH HIM IN MEETING YESTERDAY. TO HAVE DONE SO WOULD HAVE BEEN RECEIVED AS A PERSONAL AFFRONT.

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



ORG 7 AF/5N
TR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State
TELEGRAM

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PAGE: 01 LAGOS 08479 201644Z

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ACTION: AFI 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, PI 03, PRS 01, USIA 12, CIAE 00, INR 07, N8AE 00,

RSC 01, UCF 05, SS 20, AID 28, NSC 10, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01,

UPW 01, ACDA 16, SSO 00, RSR 01, 163 W

057995

R 201250Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9102
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 8479

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (MRN ONLY 8479 VICE 0579)

SUBJ: BRUBECK TALKS LAGOS--BRIG EKPO

1. BRUBECK AND DATT MET 19TH WITH BRIG EKPO, GOWON'S CHIEF OF STAFF. MOST INTERESTING POINT WAS EKPO'S ASSERTION THAT IN STORMY FED EXEC MEETING WHICH AGREED TO ICRC PROGRAM, HEAVY MAJORITY OPPOSED AGREEMENT AND ONLY MILITARY SUPPORTED GOWON. EKPO REVEALED THIS IN ARGUING GOWON COULD USE AUTHORITY ONLY SPARINGLY TO OVERRULE COLLEAGUES AND NO FURTHER CONCESSIONS ON RELIEF POSSIBLE.

2. BRUBECK PRESENTED USUAL ARGUMENTS RE VALUE OF FMG TAKING POSITIVE POSITION ON RELIEF AND GAINS FMG HAD MADE BY ITS HANDLING OF ICRC NEGOTIATIONS. ON URGING BK OMO-BARE IN EARLIER MEETING, PRESSED EKPO RE NECESSITY FMG PLAY COOPERATIVE ROLE IN CROSS RIVER NEGOTIATIONS. NOT CLEAR EKPO GOT POINT (HE FOCUSED ON SECURITY AND PUBLIC OPINION PROBLEMS OF ICRC AND OBVIOUSLY NOT ENTHUSIASTIC).

3. EKPO REFERRED TO USG REFUSAL SELL ARMS, BUT INDICATED HE UNDERSTOOD PROBLEM AND NOT RPT NOT ASKING

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ORG 7 AF/SN
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 Department of State
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ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, 10, 13, UCF 05, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, MI 02, INR 07,

LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, PI 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01,

ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, UPW 01, AID 28, ACDA 10, RSR 01, 172, WI
 002631

PI RI 191737Z SEP 69
 FMI AMEMBASSY LAGOS:
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9093
 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS: 8466

SUBJ: BRUBECK TALKS LAGOS--MAJ. GEN. GOWON

1. AFTER INITIAL REBUFFS IN ATTEMPT ARRANGE APPOINTMENT WITH
 GOWON, COMM. ARIKPO EXTAFFI ARRANGED APPOINTMENT FOR P.M. TODAY.
 TOGETHER WITH CHARGE SPENT FRIENDLY AND CHATTY TWO HOURS WITH
 GEN. GOWON. ARIKPO ONLY OTHER PERSON PRESENT. AFTER EXCHANGING
 PLEASANTRIES, BRUBECK INFORMED GOWON OF HIGHLY FAVORABLE VIEW USG
 TOOK OF HIS STATESMANLIKE APPROACH LEADING TO THE SIGNING OF THE
 FMG-ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHT AGREEMENT. GOWON EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIA-
 TION OF THIS ATTITUDE EMPHASIZING AGREEMENT APPROVED NOT TO "GAIN
 CHEAP INTERNATIONAL PUBLICITY" BUT BECAUSE HE WAS
 GENUINELY INTERESTED IN ONLY TWO THINGS--THE PRESERVATION OF A
 UNITED NIGERIA AND RELIEF OF NIGERIAN SUFFERING CAUSED BY THE WAR.
 BRUBECK EXPRESSED OUR DISAPPOINTMENT OVER REBEL REJECTION OF THE
 AGREEMENT AND TOLD HIM OF OUR EFFORTS TO BRING PRESSURE ON REBELS
 TO ACCEPT CONDITIONS OF AGREEMENT. USED THIS OPPORTUNITY TO
 EXPLAIN ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF SECRETARY'S STATEMENT AND TO POINT
 OUT DEEP US INTEREST IN PROVIDING RELIEF TO STARVING IN NIGERIA.
 EXPLAINED POLITICAL PRESSURES GENERATED IN US AND EXPRESSED HOPE
 HE UNDERSTOOD OUR PROBLEMS IN THIS REGARD. GOWON REPLIED THAT
 HE DID
 UNDERSTAND AND APPRECIATE US STAND, AND ACKNOWLEDGED FMG
 ACCEPTANCE HAD BEEN OF BENEFIT TO ITS INTERNATIONAL IMAGE, BUT

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 Authority VND 959503
 By MVA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 01, UPW 01, SR 01,

ORM 03, SSD 00, NSCE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07,

LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, RSR 01, USIE 00,

/138 W

052303

P R 191730Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3026
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3380

SUBJECT NIGERIA

STATE FOR U/CF

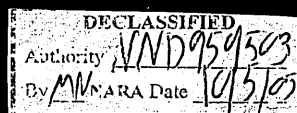
1. BASSET JUST GOT THROUGH TELEPHONING WITH OBI WHO
WILL BE GENEVA ON MONDAY (SEPTEMBER 22) AND AT LEAST TUESDAY
A.M.

2. BASSET MENTIONED THAT OBI IS NOW ZEROING IN ON DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN FINAL FMG AGREEMENT AND ORIGINAL VERSION WHILE TAKING
"SOFTER LINE" RE GUARANTEES. (SEE GENEVA 3351)

3. SEVERAL REPORTS RECEIVED FROM CONCERNED GOVERNMENTS
AND FROM ICRC'S OWN PEOPLE SHOW THAT BIAFRANS MAY BE WILLING
SETTLE FOR INCLUSION OF "ASSURANCES OF NON-INTERFERENCE"
(WHICH NOW EXIST ONLY ORALLY) INTO AGREEMENT. SAME SOURCES
WERE ALSO REPORTING THAT BIAFRAN REPS ABROAD MAKING CONCERTED
APPROACHES TO VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS JUSTIFYING REJECTION IN TERMS
OF CHANGES IN WORDING OF AGREEMENT.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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4. IN ANSWER TO QUESTION RE TEST FLIGHTS BASSET SAID THERE HAD BEEN NO CHANGE (IN DECISION AGAINST FLIGHTS), HOWEVER, HE WOULD INFORM OBI THAT ICRC UNDER GREAT PRESSURE MAKE FLIGHTS, AND THAT THERE MIGHT BE DECISION TO GO AHEAD. HE (OBI) SHOULD BE AWARE THAT BIAFRAN INTERFERENCE WOULD ENTAIL WORLD-WIDE PUBLIC REVULSION.

5. WE QUERIED BASSET RE "PARA. 7(C)" (LAGOS 8431, LINE 7 NOTAL). SINCE NONE OF DOCUMENTS PASSED ON TO US BY ICRC CONTAINED SUCH PARAGRAPH. AS WE HAD SURMISED, THIS REFERS TO "TOP SECRET" NAF INSTRUCTIONS RE FLIGHTS WHICH APPARENTLY WERE SHOWN TO BIGNAMI. LATTER HAD STRENUOUSLY OBJECTED TO 7(C) WHICH REFERRED TO "OBSERVATION AND SURVEILLANCE OF AIR CORRIDOR" STATING THAT ICRC COULD NOT TOLERATE INTERFERENCE THIS TYPE.

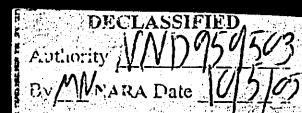
6. COMMENTS: (A) WE WILL TRY GET HOLD OBI AFTER HE COMPLETES SESSIONS WITH ICRC, POSSIBLY BY ARRANGING BREAKFAST TUESDAY A.M.

(B) BEFORE TRYING OBTAIN COPY NAF INSTRUCTIONS FROM BASSET (ASSUMING ICRC HAS FULL TEXT), WOULD APPRECIATE KNOWING WHETHER AMBASSY LAGOS POSSIBLY ALREADY HAS THIS DOCUMENT OR IS CONVERSANT ITS CONTENTS.
BASSIN

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03379 191737Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, UCF 05, SS 20, NSC 10, INR 07, RSR 01, RSC 01, 1076
052206

O R 191720Z SEP 69 ZFF-4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 3025

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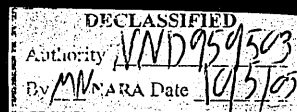
SUBJ: NIGERIA

PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO HOCHE, ICRC DELEGATION LAGOS.
FROM BIGNAMI: QUOTE REMIT TWO PHOTOCOPIES SIGNED REPEAT SIGNED
FMG AGREEMENT SEPTEMBER 13, 1969 TO NIGERIA/DAHOMEY BORDER
TOMORROW 12:00 L.T. STOP MEYNER WILL BE THERE. END QUOTE.
BASSIN

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGER⁴⁴
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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 ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, ID 13, EUR 17, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01,
 UPW 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NAC 10,
 P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, RSR 01,
 /138 W

GENEVA-3378
 9-1969

P 191705Z SEP 69
 FM USMISSION GENEVA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3024
 INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

052335

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3378

SUBJ: NIGERIA

STATE FOR: U/CF

1. WE SAW WCC RELIEF CHIEF OERNER (NORWEGIAN), WHO JUST BACK FROM ISTANBUL, THIS AFTERNOON. HE CONSIDERS BIAFRAN LEADERSHIP CYNICAL AND NOT PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT MISERY ITS PEOPLE.

2. RE DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS HE MENTIONED GENERAL BERG'S CONTACTS WITH FMG REPS IN ISTANBUL ON WHICH GENEVA AND LAGOS HAVE PREVIOUSLY REPORTED. IN ANSWER TO QUESTION OERNER THOUGHT BIAFRANS WOULD BE MORE AMENABLE TO DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS SPONSORED BY JCA THAN TO THOSE PROPOSED BY ICRC. HE RECALLED THAT JCA HAD RECEIVED WRITTEN ACCEPTANCE OF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS FROM OJUKWU PROVIDED OTHER SIDE AGREED. WE OBSERVED THAT ICRC ALSO HAD WRITTEN ACCEPTANCE "IN PRINCIPLE." OERNER ALSO THOUGHT JCA COULD HAVE HELPFULLY INTERCEDED ON BEHALF ICRC FLIGHTS WITH OJUKWU. HOWEVER, ICRC HAD MADE NO REQUEST AND JCA HAD SEEN NO REASON TO TAKE INITIATIVE.

3. JCA WOULD CONTINUE NIGHT FLIGHTS AS LONG AS POSSIBLE OR UNTIL AGREEMENT REACHED ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. HE RECOGNIZED THAT SOME DAY FMG WOULD ACQUIRE NIGHT FIGHTER CAPABILITY AND MARVELED AT LENGTH TIME THIS IS TAKING. SPEAKING AS NAVAL OFFICER OERNER EXPRESSED STRONG CONVICTION THAT RIVER ROUTE ONLY PRACTICAL SOLU-

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 Authority VND959503
 By MNA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03378 191757Z

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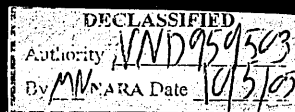
4. SUMMING UP, OERNER EMPHASIZED BISHOP BLAKE'S CONVICTION ONLY SOLUTION LAY IN PEACE TALKS. HE INDICATED THAT BLAKE SEEMED TO HAVE SOME HOPE MEET WITH BOTH SIDES SIMULTANEOUSLY BUT, IN ANY EVENT, WOULD NOT MAKE THE "MISTAKE" OF OTHER NEGOTIATORS OF MEETING WITH PARTIES SEPARATELY AND THEN SHUTTLING BACK AND FORTH. CONTRADICTING EARLIER STATEMENTS RE FORTHCOMING JCA ATTEMPTS PUT FLIGHTS ON DAYLIGHT BASIS AND POSSIBILITIES OF HELPING ICRC, OERNER STATED AT THAT POINT THAT JCA DOES NOT WANT FRITTER AWAY ANY OF ITS LARGE RESERVOIR OF GOOD WILL ON THESE PROBLEMS BUT WANTS PRESERVE ITS ENTIRE INFLUENCE IN CONNECTION WITH JOINT PEACE TALKS.

5. COMMENT: AS NOTED THERE WERE SOME CONTRADICTIONS IN OERNER'S STATEMENTS. BASIC IMPRESSION WAS THAT AT LEAST WCC, I.E. DR. BLAKE, NOW CONCENTRATING LARGELY ON PEACE MOVES AND FOR TIME BEING IS WILLING GO ALONG WITH NIGHT FLIGHTS RATHER THAN UPSET APPLE CART, I.E. JCA'S RESERVOIR OF GOOD WILL IN OWERRI, BY GETTING INVOLVED IN ANY ACRIMONOUS DAYLIGHT FLIGHT ARGUMENTS. IF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS CAN BE ACHIEVED IN BIAFRA ON BASIS FMG'S CONCESSIONS TO ICRC SIMPLY BY SUBSTITUTING JCA FOR ICRC, SO MUCH THE BETTER. BASSIN

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03368 191216Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AFI 12, IO 13, UPW 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28,

PC 04, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, EUR 17, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, HI 02,

INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, RSR 01, 14208
050033

PIR 191134Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3017
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ROME

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 3368

SUBJECT: NIGERIA

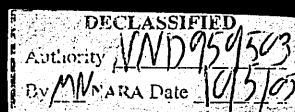
STATE FOR U/CF

1. PIACITELLI, FIRST SECRETARY ITALIAN DEL., HAS BEEN IN FREQUENT TOUCH WITH US RE ICRC DAY FLIGHT DEVELOPMENTS. INTEREST OF GOI SEEMS REFLECTED IN VOLUMINOUS STACK CABLES BOTH FROM ROME AND ALSO FROM ITALIAN EMBASSY WASHINGTON WHICH HE BRINGS ALONG TO US MISSION ON HIS HORIZON TOURING VISITS.

2. PIACITELLI HAS NOW RPT NOW RAISED FOR SECOND TIME POSSIBILITY OF FORCING BIAFRAN REVERSAL THROUGH PRESSURES ON JCA. THIS, PIACITELLI THOUGHT, COULD BE ACHIEVED THROUGH GOVERNMENTAL PRESSURES ON JCA ASKING THEM SUSPEND FLIGHTS UNTIL BIAFRANS AGREE TO DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. WE QUESTIONED WHETHER JCA AND SUPPORTING PUBLIC AMENABLE TO PRESSURES AND MORE IMPORTANTLY WHETHER TEMPORARY MEANS OF INCREASED STARVATION REPRESENTED ACCEPTABLE JUSTIFICATION FOR MORE RELIEF IN AND AS END. WE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THERE WAS OPEN QUESTION RE PRIORITY BIAFRANS ATTACH TO HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORTS AS OPPOSED TO THEIR POLITICAL-MILITARY INTERESTS IN NIGHT FLIGHTS, GUARANTEE STATEMENTS OF TYPE WHICH IMPLIES SOME SORT OF RECOGNITION, ETC. BASSIN

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0659



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RS/R
RS/R file

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: U - The Acting Secretary SEP 19 1969

THROUGH: S/S

FROM: AF - David D. Newsom

SUBJECT: Possibility of Open Congressional Hearings on US Southern African policy and American investment in Southern Africa - INFORMATION MEMORANDUM

At Congressman Diggs' request, I called on him September 16 to discuss US policy toward Southern Rhodesia, particularly with reference to the continued presence of our consular office in Salisbury. I attach a copy of the memorandum of conversation from that meeting.

During the conversation, Mr. Diggs commented that the American public was unaware of the effect American economic interests had on political foreign policy decisions. He strongly feels that open public hearings by his sub-committee would be useful in educating the American public on this score.

The Congressman was upset over some advertisements (attached to memcon) placed in South African publications by American companies which appear to support apartheid racial policies. He said he was sure that the companies were recipients of equal opportunity awards in the United States but that their activities in South Africa left something to be desired.

Congressman Diggs also made clear that he wanted the hearings in order to "smoke out" those members of the Executive who were delaying or opposing foreign policy decisions such as closure of the consular office in Salisbury.

He asked me if I thought hearings would be useful. I replied that in present circumstances such hearings might be counter-productive. Jack Leahy, who was present representing "H", agreed. I told Mr. Diggs, however, that the final decision rested with him. Mr. Leahy pointed out that the Department could not discuss all aspects of the situation in an open session.

(4)

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AF/S: E L BRUCE: ab
9/17/69

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XR POL 27-9 BIAFRA NIGERIA

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By MNARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-
NIGERIA

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☐ CHARGE TO

18 SEP 69 15 55z

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ACTION: Amembassy COTONOU

STATE _____

INFO: USMission GENEVA
Amembassy LAGOS

SUBJ: U/CF RSM THOMAS

1. George Thomas of AmbassadorXX Ferguson's staff
(U/CF) departing Washington, D.C. for Cotonou arriving
2:40 PM Tuesday, September 23, 1969.
2. Amembassy Cotonou please obtain hotel reservations
Hotel de La PLAGE.

END

RICHARDSON

158582

(3)

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:GThomas	DRAFTING DATE 9/18/69	TEL. EXT. 23257	APPROVED BY: <i>[Signature]</i> U/CF:GThomas
CLEARANCES:			

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By: *[Signature]* NARA Date: 10/5/05



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, D.C. 20520

RS/R FILES

Attention *mu 1/277*
Keep this study together.
September 18, 1969

37
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U/CF

13 769
5-C-121
This document released to
public per *J Bishop AF*

911175
MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Letter to the President from
Carl H. Barker, Whittier,
California

*rel 9-17-69 Barker-Melencamp
9-18-69 Barker-Melencamp*
In response to Mr. Melencamp's request of
September 10 there is enclosed a suggested reply,
for signature by a member of the White House staff,
to a letter to the President from Carl H. Barker of
Whittier, California. Mr. Barker asked the Presi-
dent to aid Biafra and help bring peace to Nigeria.

The original correspondence is returned for
your files.

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Enclosures:

1. Suggested reply
2. Letter from Mr. Barker

MICROFILMED
BY S/S: CMS

U/CF:JMPope 9/16/69

① Redrafted and retyped in S/S-S:WWBrandt:mf 9/18/69

POL 27-9 BIAFRA NIGERIA

0662

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Authority *VND 959503*
By *MW* NARA Date *10/5/05*



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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September 18, 1969

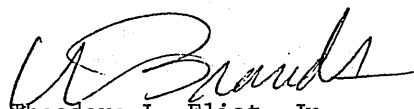
COPIES TO:
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U/CF

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Letter to the President from
Carl H. Barker, Whittier,
California

In response to Mr. Melencamp's request of September 10 there is enclosed a suggested reply, for signature by a member of the White House staff, to a letter to the President from Carl H. Barker of Whittier, California. Mr. Barker asked the President to aid Biafra and help bring peace to Nigeria.

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Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Enclosures:

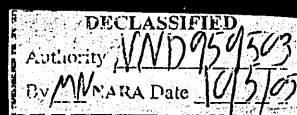
1. Suggested reply
2. Letter from Mr. Barker

U/CF:JMPope 9/16/69

Redrafted and retyped in S/S-S:WVBrandt:mf 9/18/69

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

0663



Mr. Carl H. Barker
6799 Worsham Drive
Whittier, California 90602

Dear Mr. Barker:

Whittier holds many pleasant memories for the President and he was pleased to learn from your letter that you are living in the Worsham Drive residence he once called home.

The President shares your feeling of anguish over the continuing suffering brought on by the Nigerian civil war. The United States Government is exerting its maximum influence in a concerted effort with other governments and organizations to get agreement on a relief plan that would permit a substantial flow of food and medical supplies into the Biafran enclave.

The major obstacle to expanded relief is neither money, food, medicines nor means of transportation, but the absence of relief arrangements acceptable to the two sides in the civil war.

In the past few days, for example, after considerable pressure from a number of countries, including the United States, Nigeria agreed to a daylight relief proposal of the International Committee of the Red Cross that would have alleviated the suffering in the enclave. This proposal, which had strong international support, was rejected by Biafra.

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Authority	VND959503
By	MMNARA Date 10/5/05

-2-

Ambassador Clyde Ferguson has been pursuing diligently his mandate from the President to make an all-out effort to negotiate new arrangements for getting relief to the needy. He has met with top leaders of both Nigeria and Biafra, and has held consultations in a number of capitals in Europe and Africa on the relief question.

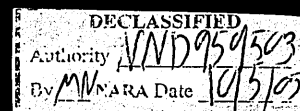
President Nixon recently sent urgent appeals to the two parties concerned to reach agreement on relief measures. The President also sent a message to Pope Paul VI supporting any initiative His Holiness might take on the relief problem.

Despite our efforts we realize that the Nigerian conflict is a war fought by both sides for political objectives which have taken precedence over humanitarian concerns. The United States has had to face the fact that we have no effective influence with either party to alter the grim reality that they believe they can gain by fighting what they might lose by holding peace talks.

Our immediate objective is to restore the flow of relief into the Biafran enclave. We shall, I assure you, do everything possible to encourage any initiative offering hope of success.

Sincerely yours,

0665



THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

REFERRAL *M*

13769

37
To: The Secretary of State

Date: September 10, 1969

ACTION REQUESTED

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Draft reply for: | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> President's signature. | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Undersigned's signature. | |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Member of the White House Staff | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Memorandum for use as enclosure to reply. | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Direct reply. | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Furnish information copy. | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Suitable acknowledgment or other appropriate handling. | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Furnish copy of reply, if any. | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> For your information. | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> For comment. | |

NOTE

Prompt action is essential.

If more than 48 hours' delay is encountered, please telephone the undersigned immediately, Code 1450.

Basic correspondence should be returned when draft reply, memorandum, or comment is requested.

REMARKS:

Description:

☒ Letter: ☐ Telegram: ☐ Other:
To: The President
From: Carl H. Barker, 6799 Worsham Drive, Whittier, Cal.
Date: 9/7/69
Subject: Nigerian-Biafran Relief.

By direction of the President:

22
Noble M. Melencamp
Staff Assistant
to the President

(Copy to remain with correspondence)

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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Authority: VND 959503
By: MN NARA Date: 10/5/05

6799 WORSHAM DRIVE
WHITTIER CAL. 90602
SEPT. 7, 1969

13769

PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON
WESTERN WHITE HOUSE
SAN CLEMENTE CALIF.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT;

LIVING IN YOUR FORMER HOME BUILT BY STOOOY, AND SLEEPING UP IN THE OBSERVATORY TOWER; KNOWING MANY OF YOUR RELATIVES AND ACQUAINTANCES; AND NOW WITH YOUR PRESENCE SO NEARBY, I AM TEMPTED TO HOPE THAT I MIGHT REACH YOU BY MAIL.

RE BIAFARA, ENCLOSED NEWS BULLETIN. AMERICA'S FINEST HOUR, I FEEL, WAS IN YOUR NOMINATING DR. FERGUSON; AND THE DEATH-KNELL TO RELIEF - OUR NOT REACTING TO THE SHOOTING DOWN OF THE RED CROSS PLANE SO THE WORLD WOULD KNOW AND BE ANGRY. HOWEVER, THERE STILL REMAINS A WIDESPREAD FEELING THAT THERE COULD BE A CEASE-FIRE FOR YOUR DEMANDING IT, BUT THAT OUR SILENCE ALLOWS BRITAIN AND RUSSIA'S GUILT TO SETTLE ON US AS WELL. AFTER ALL, DIDN'T THE U.S. STOP THE INVASION OF EGYPT BY BRITAIN FRANCE AND ISRAEL RIGHT NOW (WHICH SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN MAYBE SIX DAYS TOO SOON..) YET TWO MILLIONS OF AFRICA'S FINEST INNOCENTS' DYING HAS NOT PHASED US.

MR. SHOP OF FERGUSON'S OFFICE INVITED ME TO ATTEND A CONFERENCE ON NIGERIAN-BIAFARAN RELIEF AT BERKELEY SOME MONTHS AGO. I CANNOT FORGET THE UNITY OF THE NIGERIAN AND BIAFARAN STUDENTS IN PLEADING THAT WE STOP THE WAR. THEY REMINDED US THAT WHAT KEPT THEM FROM EACH OTHERS' THROATS WAS OUR RESTRAINING PRESENCE. THEY LIKENED A BLOOD TRANSFUSION INTO ONE ARM WHILE LEAVING AN OPEN ARTERY IN THE OTHER: TO OUR ATTEMPTS AT RELIEF WHILE NOT USING OUR MEANS FOR HALTING THE WAR.

EVERY BIAFARAN STAKES HIS LIFE ON HIS CONVICTION THAT THIS WAR IS FOR KEEPS:- THAT IT IS GENOCIDE. THE STATE DEPT. JUST POO-POOS THIS, YET ADMITS IT HAS NO REMEDIES FOR REPRISALS IT WOULD EXPECT TO BE WORSE THAN WHAT PRECEDED AND BROUGHT ABOUT THE SECESSION.

WE APPROVE OUR SECESSION FROM BRITAIN OVER TAXES BUT ARE DENYING, IN EFFECT, THE RIGHT OF SURVIVAL TO THE ONLY TRIBE WITH THE SPIRIT, EDUCATION, ORGANISATIONAL ABILITY AND CAPITAL (IN OIL) TO LEAD THAT CONTINENT IN HARMONY WITH THE FREE WORLD. STATE DEPT. MAKES ONE FEEL SHE MERELY APES GREAT BRITAIN LIKENING THIS TO THE CIVIL WAR RATHER THAN TO THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

I BELIEVE THE GREATEST ASSURANCE FOR PEACE GENERALLY, AND FUTURE HONOR AND HAPPINESS FOR OUR COUNTRY LIES IN WAGING A PEACE OFFENSIVE FOR THESE MOST WORTHY INNOCENTS! WONT YOU PLEASE, FOR GOD'S SAKE..

MOST GRATEFULLY YOURS,

Carl H. Barker
CARL H. BARKER

P.S. YOU WOULD BE AMAZED AT WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THIS MARVELOUS OLD PLACE.

CMB.

0667

DECLASSIFIED
Authority <i>VND 959503</i>
By <i>MM</i> NARA Date <i>10/5/05</i>

\$17 August 22, 1969

RELIEF BRIEFS

Biafra accepted 8/18 the compromise ICRC proposal on dayflights into Uli with inspection at ICRC bases outside Nigeria, under the condition that its acceptance is "without prejudice to the continued use of Uli for its own purposes". FMG officials had strongly criticized the plan 8/5 in what many regarded as a virtual rejection although the ICRC continues to report no official Nigerian answer. Biafra's response seems to include one new concession: dropping their previous demand that such flights be subject to third party guarantees. FMG-ICRC negotiations continue in Lagos. Meanwhile it appears that the government of Equatorial Guinea has also been the object of FMG representations not to permit unapproved flights. This would knock out both of ICRC's existing bases for future night flights; dayflight negotiations remain at a dead end. Should ICRC flights not be resumed, donor governments would have to be consulted as to disposition of aircraft and supplies. We know of no progress there either. The failure of the ICRC to maintain an operational airbridge into Biafra is reported (see good article, London Telegraph, 8/19) to have raised serious questions within the world-wide Red Cross movement. The 119 national societies, the ICRC, and the Geneva-based Secretariat of the League of Red Cross Societies meet next month in Istanbul for their quadriennial conference. At issue are both the intent of the Geneva conventions and the role of the ICRC, which at present is the only Red Cross body authorized to go into war areas, thus confining the national societies, who maintain more extensive relief machinery and who may have better relations with national societies in warring countries.

Biafra: Another JCA rep just back from Biafra. Rev. Lothar Kuhl, Lisbon, reported 8/18 that most of the feeding centers and sick bays have been closed. "The remaining stocks of food are going to children who look bad, but if they look too bad, they're sent back to the bush to die." JCA airlift brings in only 25% of estimated minimum need.

Flights - Biafra: August 14-21: JCA 87, 1140 tons. Average: 12/night, 161 tons/night. Africa Concern's plane returned to Libreville 8/14, to resume its 2 flights/night. French Red Cross continues to fly approximately 1 flight/night, 4 tons only.

Nigeria: Some of Ferguson's men have gone to help with the ICRC handover, for which conditions have yet to be spelled out, as have the roles of the National Rehabilitation Commission and the Nigerian Red Cross. Only 1 of the 5-6 coastal vessels, the only means of transportation of relief to SE and Rivers States from Lagos, is currently operating. The others' charters have not been renewed. Considerable relief distribution continues to be necessary in those areas; however, there are sufficient stocks in forward depots to avert imminent shortages. Under the USAID contract for assistance in logistics and maintenance, the first 4 Americans have gone to the Calabar-Uyo area, both to work and to train Nigerian counterparts. Others are expected in Enugu soon. The 2 US-procured LSM's are still in Lagos, although a Nigerian paper reports Rehab Comm. Omo-Bare as saying that one of them is soon to be used for relief to FH area.

MILITARY BRIEFS

Enahoro admitted 8/16 that Biafran aircraft had hit a Gulf installation in the Escravos 8/10-- killing a Nigerian, wounding 4 Americans, hitting a building and storage tank, and damaging 3 helicopters. (This confirms 2 attacks on Gulf, first 7/11--see last week). London Times 8/15 reported Geneva informants saying new arms are now reaching Biafra by 2 chartered DC 7's, but they believe most of Ojukwu's arms are still from the black market, not South Africa. Chief Awolowo announced 8/16 that the total cost of the war had risen to £ N 340,000 (\$952,000) per day. A 8/16 Le Monde roundup reports a decrease in the intensity of fighting from last 3 weeks due to resumption of heavy rains. ONITSHA-N: Federal and Biafran troops still face each other in Onitsha-town (AFP). Biafrans claim Federals on edge of Aguleri only (FMG claimed not only capture of Aguleri but war pushed S. of Onitsha-Enugu Rd) The Nigerian Consulate here says Federal troops have not yet linked up with the Nsukka troops. Enahoro said 8/17 Biafrans had launched heavy but unsuccessful counter-attacks this week in a bid to recapture their strong guerilla bases N. of Onitsha. Owerri-S, S: Radio Biafra, 8/17: Biafra gained 6 miles and captured 2 villages in a 5 day offensive. Fighting continued in Omoku sector, despite intensified FMG bombing of villages. 8/18 Claimed to have repulsed a Nigerian counter-attack. Biafran war communique: Nigerian casualties heaviest NE of Ahoada. Enahoro said 8/17 Fed 3rd Division still firmly controls Ebocha oil refinery (8 mi. north of Omoku); no fighting whatsoever near oil-rich Ahoada. AFP 8/16 reports diminished intensity in battles west of Owerri-Elele axis, where Biafran 14th Div. had pursued violent offensive. ABA-IKOT-EKPENE: Enahoro said the FMG push N from Aba was slowed by Biafran bridge demolition and road mining. Biafra said 8/18 they retained new gains in Ikot-Azumini sector (E & S of Aba), following a battle 8/14 where 65 Nigerians were killed, mainly Ijekeros, "a rivers people drafted recently." (Nigeria's army is officially volunteer). MIDWEST: Nigerian press reports over 6000 people along the Niger evacuated to Oguma. Awolowo said 8/14 that Nigeria has taken "adequate measures" to protect oil regions. "Informed federal sources" (AFP) say these measures were

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 Authority VND 959503
 By MVA Date 10/5/05

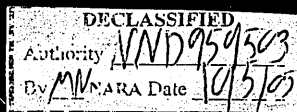
U.S. BRIEFS

Informed sources suggest that the White House, faced with a relief crisis approaching the severity of last summer's and a State Department surpassing its footdragging of last summer, appears to be moving toward a stronger mediating role in favor of increased relief though State Department continues to undermine Executive initiatives. The split between White House and State is long standing, but, even under Nixon, State has usually come out on top. Stokely Carmichael, in Algiers for the Festival of Pan-African Culture, said the war in Nigeria had to be stopped at all costs. It was sad, he added, that Africa is incapable of stopping a war of "white interest, while our people are being killed." Mr. Carmichael sees the war as an imperialist experiment to see how Africa could be divided. The New York Times has sent Eric Pace from the Paris Bureau to Biafra for a few weeks. So far only one story has appeared, but others are scheduled. The Times has still not filled the opening in Lagos. The AID budget proposal for fiscal year 1970 requests a special \$10,000,000 for Nigerian relief and rehabilitation. In the past funds for this effort have come out of the regular budgets of AID, State and the Department of Defense. Congress has yet to authorize or appropriate the funds. Rochester, NY citizens, many of them from Emergency Relief for Nigeria/Biafra, delivered seven-foot high picture post cards showing a starving child with an empty bowl to the UN, White House, Office of the Special Representative of Biafra, and the Embassy of Nigeria on August 20 and 21. Messages on the backs of the cards read, "Dear UN--Wish you were here," to the Nigerians and Biafrans, "If you're my government, save my life," and to President Nixon, "You said you'd help." Harper and Row is publishing a collection of General Ojukwu's speeches and other writings which will be available both in hardback and paperback in October. "The Ahiara Declaration, The Principles of the Biafran Revolution" (otherwise, and incorrectly, referred to as General Ojukwu's Independence Day Speech) is available from Biafra Review, MIT Branch Post Office, Drawer L, Cambridge, Mass 02139 for \$1, or up to 25% off in bulk.

POLITICAL BRIEFS

Diplomatic offensive continues: Dr. Anandji Azikiwe, former President of Nigeria and former advisor to General Ojukwu, was detained for a few hours 8/17 after being spotted by airport security guards on a Monrovia bound plane that stopped in Lagos for refueling. Dr. Azikiwe talked with General Gowon for an hour and then flew on to Monrovia where he was rejoined the next day by General Gowon. The Federal leader stressed that he had been invited by William Tubman, President of Liberia and member of the OAU Consultative Committee on Nigeria, but it is thought that Nigeria initiated the visit as a continuation of its diplomatic offensive. Dr. Azikiwe attended the Tubman-Gowon meetings but made no public statements. Informed sources indicate that he proposed a peace plan which involves appeals to 19 nations, including those which recognize Biafra, to resolve the Nigeria crisis. Mr. Austin Okwu, Biafran Representative in East and Central Africa, speaking for the Biafran Government, criticized Dr. Azikiwe for acting without official Biafran consent. The Nigerian Press has been playing up the visit as an event of primary importance. While the talks were underway the British press speculated that the former President was about to announce his personal reconciliation with Lagos if the details could be worked out, but so far there has been no indication of such. If it is true the FMG may be saving the announcement for the OAU summit conference next month in hopes of influencing those countries such as Senegal, Sierra Leone (whose House of Representatives unanimously passed a resolution last week calling on the government to use its good offices in the conflict), Tunisia and Uganda which are seen to be wavering in their support of Nigeria. Milton Obote, President of Uganda, said that Pope Paul had laid the foundation for peace and called upon the various governments supporting Nigeria and Biafra to come out openly for negotiations. Upon his return to Onitsha Dr. Eni Njoku, Biafran delegate to the Papal talks in Kampala said he refused to believe that the talks had not been successful and stated that Biafra was willing to talk to Lagos without preconditions. Senegalese President Senghor, in an interview with Le Figaro, condemned the great powers for carrying out an indirect cold war in the Nigeria/Biafra conflict. He commented that "Nigeria's integrity must be safeguarded, while a solution must also comply to a large extent with the Biafran's need for autonomy." West Africa reports that the major Lagos newspaper, The Daily Times, has called for the release of Wole Soyinka. New tax riots have been reported in Omi-Adio, ten miles from Ibadan in the Western State where a crowd of 300 was dispersed after burning down council offices. A Nigerian who recently arrived in the U.S. said that the rioting is partly in protest against the uneven distribution of Western State funds, and centers primarily in the western part of the state. Gov. Adebayo is from Iyin-Ekiti near the state's eastern border where government capital investment has been marked lately and where there has been no rioting. Col. Kyari, Gov. of the North Central State, said the division of the north into six states would not stop people from thinking alike. "The old elephant will rise again from slumber and work with more determination and vigor knowing its position in the country." In an attack on Shell-BP for supplying credit to Nigeria, Mr. CC Hojokwu, Biafra's Minister of Home Affairs and Special Envoy, supported a proposal for boycotting Shell and

0669



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
ACTION SLIP
WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL

CONTROL NO.

S/S 13769

TO U/CF - Mr. Thomas

DATE 9/12/69

SUBJECT Ref to S fm WH:MELENCAMP dtd 9/10 re 9/7 ltr to Pres fm BARKER
re the Nigerian-Biafran Relief.

XXXXXX Prepare a ~~Read to~~ Eliot/Kissinger
memo enclosing or containing:
____ Draft reply for President's
signature.
XXXXX Draft reply for signature by
____ WH Staff ____
____ Memo for use as enclosure to reply
by White House.
____ Comment or recommendation.
____ Direct reply:
____ Furnish information copy under
cover of a Read to ____
memo.
____ Comeback copy required for S/S.
____ Suitable acknowledgment or other
appropriate handling:
____ Furnish information copy of
reply, if any, under cover of
a Read to ____ memo.
XXXX Refer to White House request of
____ MR. Melencamp ____
____ FYI

NOTES

1. White House referrals must be answered within 48 hours unless otherwise noted. If deadline cannot be met, inform S/S immediately at extension given below.
 2. Direct replies to White House mail must be signed at the Assistant or Acting Assistant Secretary level.
 3. Unless otherwise noted, direct replies, depending upon the addressee of the incoming letter, must begin: "The President has asked me to reply" or "Mr. ____ has asked me to reply".
 4. Basic correspondence should be returned when draft reply, memorandum or comment or comeback copy for the White House is requested.
- P01
87
9 B/H FRW
MICELCAMP

XXXX Due in S/S by SEPTEMBER 16, 1969

REMARKS

COPIES TO:

AF - Mr. Alexander (w/att)
P - Mr. Cheshes (w/att)

Mike Hornblow x28338

Secretariat Staff
Ext.

0670

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Authority VND959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05



Department

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA 2A

TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED 676

PAGE 01 STOCKH 02779 181331Z

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ACTION EUR 22

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, UCF 05, IO 13, UPW 01,

SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01, / 138 W

042387

P R 181220Z SEP 69

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO USINFO WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 4176

UNCLAS STOCKHOLM 2779

SUBJECT "CURRENT REACTION"

REF STATE 153799

1. DAGENS NYHETER (LIBERAL) EDITORIAL "AID AND BIAFRA" COMMENTS:

2. BIAFRA'S REFUSAL TO ACCEPT HUMANITARIAN AID ON THE CONDITIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS AND NIGERIA IS A HANDICAP FOR THE LEADING CIRCLES AROUND OJUKWU. FOREIGN MINISTER TORSTEN NILSSON CERTAINLY EXPRESSES THE THOUGHTS OF MANY WHEN HE SAYS IT IS "DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND HOW, AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE EXTREMELY CRITICAL FOOD SITUATION IN BIAFRA, BIAFRA'S LEADERS CAN REJECT THE AGREEMENT (BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS AND NIGERIA) AND PREVENT EFFECTIVE HELP FROM REACHING THE SUFFERING CIVILIAN POPULATION...."

3. THE WAY IN WHICH THE MEN AROUND OJUKWU HAVE ACTED POSES AN ANCIENT PROBLEM OF WAR - WHAT SACRIFICES CAN CONFLICT SEEM TO JUSTIFY? OJUKWU'S RESPONSIBILITY IS NOT ONLY A QUESTION OF THE IBO PEOPLE'S COMMON STRUGGLE FOR A POLITICALLY SECURE EXISTENCE IT HAS TO AN INCREASING DEGREE COME TO INVOLVE THE INDIVIDUAL PHYSICAL SURVIVAL OF THESE PEOPLE. IN WHAT DEGREE CAN THESE RESPONSIBILITIES

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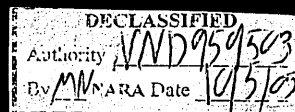
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Stockholm 2779
9/18/69

POL 27-9 NIGERIA-BIAFRA

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 STOCKH 02779 181331Z

COINCIDE WHEN STARVATION IS RAMPANT? THIS PROBLEM HAS
SELDOM BEEN POSED SO POINTEDLY IN MODERN TIMES.
SWAN

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Authority VND959503
By MVA Date 10/3/05



Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

31

CONFIDENTIAL 537

PAGE 01 COPENH 03609 181152Z

47
ACTION: AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, UPW 01,
AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01, 156 W
041815

R 180915Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2791
INFO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL COPENHAGEN 3609

SUBJ: NIGERIA RELIEF - ICRC AIRLIFT

Pol 27-9 B-7

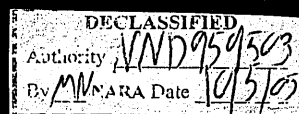
REF: STATE 152748, COPENHAGEN 3550

1. SINCE DANISH GOVT WAS NOT INITIALLY RESPONSIVE TO OUR SUGGESTION (COPENHAGEN 3550) THAT THEY APPROACH BIAFRAN REP IN GENEVA, I TOOK OPPORTUNITY OF SEP 16 CALL ON FISCHER, PERM UNSEC AT FONMIN, TO NOTE THAT BIAFRANS CONTINUE TO BLOCK RESUMPTION RELIEF FLIGHTS AND COMMENT THAT DANISH APPROACH WOULD BE USEFUL. APPARENTLY SIMILAR PLEA MADE TO DANES BY U.S. REP IN GENEVA. AS RESULT, FONMIN HARTLING ISSUED BRIEF PUBLIC STATEMENT TO LOCAL (RITZAUS) NEWS SERVICE EVENING SEP 16. AS DESCRIBED IN GENERAL TERMS BY FONOFF SOURCE (THUNE ANDERSEN), STATEMENT EXPRESSED "DANISH GOVT'S REGRET THAT NEGOTIATIONS HAVE FAILED AND URGES BIAFRA TO RECONSIDER ITS POSITION SINCE ICRC UNABLE TO STEP UP RELIEF WORK." ASKED IF DANES HAD APPROACHED BIAFRANS DIRECTLY, FONOFF SOURCE REPLIED NEGATIVELY BUT ADDED THAT SUCH APPROACH NOT NEEDED SINCE ICRC WOULD DELIVER ALL STATEMENTS TO BIAFRANS. EMBOFF COMMENTED THAT DIRECT APPROACH WOULD PROBABLY BE MORE EFFECTIVE BUT THUNE ANDERSEN FELT THAT DANES COULD DO NO

CONFIDENTIAL

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 COPENH 03609 181152Z

FURTHER GP-3.
BLANKINSHIP

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Authority	VND959503
By	MMNARA
Date	10/5/05



Department of State

TELEGRAM

TRPOL 27-9BIAFRA-NIGERIA

CONFIDENTIAL 203

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08433: 190728Z

16
ACTION: AFI 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR: 17, IO: 13, NEA: 13, ACDA: 16, MC: 02, AID: 28, SR: 01, ORM: 03,

SCS: 04, SCA: 01, CIAE: 00, DODE: 00, JPM: 04, HI: 02, INR: 07, LI: 03, NSAE: 00,

NSC: 10, P: 03, RSC: 01, PRS: 01, SS: 20, USIA: 12, UPW: 01, UCF: 05, RSR: 01,

/187 W

048454

P R 181900Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9068
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
USUN 2206

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS: 8433

SUBJ: BRUBECK'S TALKS: LAGOS--CHIEF ENAHORO

1. CHARGE AND BRUBECK HAD RELAXED SESSION WITH
COMM. INFO AND LABOR ENAHORO THIS MORNING. BRUBECK
COMMENDED HIM FOR HIS SUCCESSFUL WORK IN BRINGING
ABOUT FMG-ICRC AGREEMENT ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS AND
COMMENTED THAT FMG IMAGE GREATLY IMPROVED AS
RESULT. THIS EVIDENCED BY MANY FAVORABLE EDITORIALS
AND COMMENTS IN INTERNATIONAL PRESS. ENAHORO SAID
AGREEMENT WITHIN FMG HAD BEEN POLITICALLY DIFFICULT
BUT NOW THE "HAWKS" AMONG WHOM HE UNDERSTOOD HE WAS
OFTEN INCLUDED UNJUSTLY. ALSO BELIEVED IT HAD BEEN THE
RIGHT THING TO DO. ENAHORO SAID HE CONVINCED BIAFRANS
WOULD NEVER AGREE TO DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. THAT THEIR
ENTIRE APPEAL TO WORLD SYMPATHY WAS BASED ON STARVATION
AND THAT THEY WEREN'T ABOUT TO GIVE THIS UP.
BRUBECK EXPLAINED DOMESTIC PRESSURES FACED BY
USG ON RELIEF QUESTION WHICH WOULD WELL UP ONCE
AGAIN IF FLIGHTS DO NOT RESUME SOON. ASKED IF HE
COULD SUGGEST ANY ALTERNATIVES IN EVENT ICRC

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Authority VND 950/503
By MVA/RA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

UNCLASSIFIED 083

PAGE 01 PARIS 14248 181735Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, UCF 05,

UPW 01, SCSE 00, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01, 152 W
044103

R 181710Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7220
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

UNCLAS PARIS 14248

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA -- ICRC FLIGHTS: DIKE PRESS STATEMENT

1. BIAFRAN ROVING REPRESENTATIVE KENNETH DIKE TOLD AFPI SEPTEMBER 18 THAT "BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT IN NO WAY RESPONSIBLE FOR FAILURE OF NEGOTIATIONS UNDERTAKEN BY ICRC FOR RESUMPTION RELIEF FLIGHTS." DESPITE TENDENCY "CERTAIN POWERS AND ORGANIZATIONS TO UNDERLINE GENEROSITY FMG," DIKE SAID, AGREEMENT SIGNED BY FMG WITH ICRC "CONCLUDED APART FROM BIAFRA, DIFFERS SIGNIFICANTLY FROM AGREEMENT PREVIOUSLY REACHED BETWEEN BAFIRA AND ICRC, AND THREATENS BIAFRAN SECURITY."

2. DIKE ALSO SAID THAT FMG IN RESERVING RIGHT TO CONTINUE MILITARY OPERATIONS EVEN IN AREA WHERE RELIEF FLIGHTS LANDING, WOULD BE ABLE USE LAGOS CALL-DOWN RIGHT TO SUBSTITUTE MILITARY FOR RELIEF AIRCRAFT IN ORDER MOUNT AIRBORNE OPERATION AGAINST ULI. ACCORDING DIKE, THESE ARE PRINCIPAL DANGERS WHICH LED BIAFRA REJECT ACCORD.
SHRIVER

UNCLASSIFIED
51

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Authority VND 959503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

PARIS - 14248
9-18-69

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA



Department of State

TELEGRAM

9-17-69
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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08390 171629Z

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ACTION AFI 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, EUR 17, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, UPW 01, UCF 05,

AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, /156 W
035778

R 171605Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9034
USMISSION GENEVA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 8390

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF

1. BIGNAMI (ICRC) TOLD US HE WILL LEAVE TOMORROW (18 SEPT)
FOR GENEVA IN HOPES SEE FREYMOND ON SUNDAY OR MONDAY TO
DISCUSS SITUATION OF BIAFRAN REJECTION ICRC DAYLIGHT
FLIGHT PLAN. HE EXPECTS RETURN TO LAGOS ON TUESDAY.

GP-4
OLSON
BT

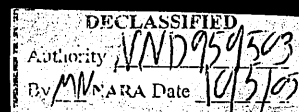
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POL 279 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 947

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03344 171635Z

45
ACTION: SS 70INFO: OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, /071 W
035824P R 171540Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2992
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3344

LIMDIS:

SUBJECT NIGERIA - CROSS RIVER

STATE FOR AMB. FERGUSON

WE TALKED TO HOLLIST RE STATUS OF SUBJECT MATTER. HE TOLD US THAT HE HAD HEARD NOTHING FROM LAGOS BUT HAD SENT YESTERDAY (PROBABLY AFTER WE TRIED TO REACH HIM) A CABLE REMINDING HIS AUTHORITIES THAT THEIR REACTIONS/INSTRUCTIONS WERE OVERDUE. HE EXPECTS GET REPLY NEXT FEW DAYS AND WILL CONTACT US THEN. BASSIN

Geneva 3344
9-17-69

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CONFIDENTIAL

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Authority VND 959503
By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05

TOP SECRET

L I M D I S
I N C O M I N G

Screened *gr*

POST *Denver*

(Time Received)

SERIAL *3344*

209 SEP 17 PM 2 55

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MONTHLY COUNT

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Geographic

Other

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S/S-O
S/S-Screener *3*
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S/S-CMS
S/S-O DIR
MilRep
Digest
Task Force

AF 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

ACDA 5
AID 12

Functional

Principals and
"S" Area

CU
E 2
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INR 6
IO 4
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O 3
OPR
OC
SY
WLG

TRSY 6
FRB
EXIM
BOB
CEA
COM 2
STR
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WHRE

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AGR 3
LAB
HEW
INT

S/CPR
S/FW
S/GOV
S/IL

Other

TRANS
CAB

S/PM
S/R
U/CF *1*
U/PW
J/PM 3
D/WP
U/UCS

WH 10
VP
DOD
CIA
USIA 4
PC

AEC 3
NASA
JUS
FBI
NIC
NSA
File
Burned 8/5/69

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Authority VND 954503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03340 171641Z

53
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07,

L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01,

ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, AID 28, UPW 01, ACDA 16, E 15, RSR 01, 181 W

035883

R 171441Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2988
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 3340

SUBJ: NIGERIA - ICRC DAY FLIGHTS

STATE FOR UZCF

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED:

1. FOLLOWING IS ICRC PRESS COMMUNIQUE DATED SEPTEMBER 16:

QUOTE: ICRC DAY FLIGHTS TO BIAFRA. GENEVA (ICRC) - THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS HAS JUST BEEN INFORMED OF THE POSITION OF THE BIAFRAN AUTHORITIES. THESE CONSIDER THAT THE AGREEMENT ON DAY FLIGHTS MADE BY THEIR REPRESENTATIVES AND THE ICRC IS NOT COMPATIBLE WITH THAT DRAWN UP BY THE ICRC WITH THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA.

THE ICRC CONSIDERS THAT AS REGARDS METHODS OF EXECUTION THERE EXISTS NO INCOMPATIBILITY BETWEEN THESE TWO BILATERAL AGREEMENTS. IT IS REEXAMINING THE SITUATION WITH THE BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVES STARTING FROM THE POINT OF

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GENEVA - 3340
9-17 69

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Authority VND959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03340 171641Z

AGREEMENT ALREADY REACHED.

MEANWHILE THE ICRC STATES THAT IT HAS TAKEN THE FOLLOWING DECISIONS:

-AS REGARDS TERRITORY UNDER FEDERAL ARMY CONTROL, THE ICRC IS CONTINUING ITS ACTION, IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREEMENTS MADE WITH THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA, IN THE SPIRIT OF THE JOINT PRESS RELEASE OF 12 JULY 1969, AND FOLLOWING THE PROVISIONS OF THE FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION OF 1949.

-IN CONNECTION WITH RELIEF STOCKS AT SANTA ISABEL AND COTONOU, THE ICRC WILL EXAMINE WITH THE DONORS THE NECESSARY MEASURES TO BE TAKEN FOR THEIR FUTURE USE. END QUOTE

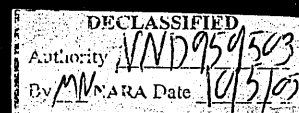
END UNCLASSIFIED

BEGIN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

2. WE LEARNED FROM BASSET THAT ABOVE RELEASE WAS DICTATED BY FREYMOND OVER PHONE YESTERDAY. LAST PARAGRAPH RE RELIEF SUPPLIES WOULD SEEM INDICATE THAT ICRC, I.E. FREYMOND, DOES NOT EXPECT FLIGHTS TO RESUME. END LIMITED OFFICIAL USE.
BASSIN

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State

TELEGRAM

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 597

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03341 171544Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, SS 20, NSC 10, INR 07, LS 02, RSR 01,

RSC 01, /089 W

035422

R 171441Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2989
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 3341

SUBJ: NIGERIA

REF: GENEVA 3306, PARA. 6(B)

STATE FOR UYCF

1. FOLLOWING MESSAGE ADDRESSED TO NAVILLE BY HOLY SEE OBSERVER
GENEVA (FATHER DE RIEDMATTEN) DATED SEPT. 15:

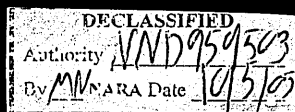
QUOTE: "LE SAINT-SIEGE A APPRIS AVEC LE PLUS VIF INTERET LES
NOUVELLES RELATIVES AUX EFFORTS ACCOMPLIS PAR LE C.I.C.R. POUR
ETABLIR DES ACCORDS PERMETTANT L'ORGANISATION DE VOLS DE JOUR EN
FAVEUR DES POPULATIONS CIVILES ATTEINTES PAR LE CONFLIT. IL FAIT
DES VOEUX POUR QUE, GRACE A CES ACCORDS, IL SOIT POSSIBLE A LA
CROIX-ROUGE D'ACCOMPLIR SANS DELAI SON OEUVRE HUMANITAIRE, A
LAQUELLE LE SAINT-SIEGE ATTACHE UNE SI GRANDE IMPORTANCE." END
QUOTE.
BASSIN:

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GENEVA - 3341
9-17 69

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 236

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03351 171834Z

59
ACTION: UCF 05

INFO: OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07

LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01,

ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, UPW 01, AID 28, RSR 01, /150 W
036658

PIR 171800Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3000
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USUN NEW YORK 3722

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3351

SUBJ: NIGERIA

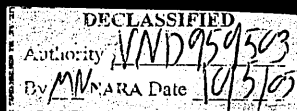
REF: GENEVA 3342

STATE FOR AMB FERGUSON

1. IN VIEW ICRC'S CONTINUED INABILITY REACH OBI AND THUS RESUME DIALOGUE, CHARGE ASKED GUTMAN TRY HIS LUCK. OBI ANSWERED PHONE PROMPTLY. AFTER OPENING SMALL TALK, HE MENTIONED HAVING HOUSING AND OFFICE PROBLEMS. (HE SEEMS TO BE LOSING USE OF TWO SMALL OFFICES PRESENTLY OCCUPIED) THAT KEEP HIM FROM DOING OTHER TASKS. IN REPLY TO QUERY RE "LATEST DEVELOPMENTS" HE REFERRED TO COOKEY'S STATEMENT AND HIS COMMUNICATION TO BASSET (GENEVA 3297). GUTMAN ASKED HIM WHETHER HIS TELEX REPRESENTED A REJECTION OF THE ICRC PROPOSAL OR SHOULD BE TAKEN AS A STATEMENT OF RESERVATIONS. OBI REPLIED THAT ICRC SHOULD GO BACK TO FMG AND DEMAND ITS ACCEPTANCE OF ORIGINAL AGREEMENT. WHEN HE WAS REMINDED THAT HE AND EKE HAD EARLIER AGREED THEY COULD LIVE WITH MODIFICATIONS MADE BY FMG SUBJECT TO "GUARANTEES", STATEMENT HE ADDED THAT, OF COURSE, MORE WAS NEEDED THAN HAD BEEN OBTAINED. POINT WAS MADE THAT HE AS TRAINED DIPLOMAT MUST BE FULLY AWARE STRENGTH OF STATEMENT WHICH

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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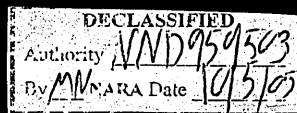
PAGE 02. GENEVA 03351 171834Z

HE HIMSELF HAD CALLED "FORTHCOMING" AND THAT OF STATEMENTS BY OTHER GOVERNMENTS. BRIEF DISCUSSION ENSUED RE DISAPPOINTMENT EXPRESSED BY DEPARTMENT SPOKESMEN, OTHER GOVERNMENTS AND PRESS WHICH REFLECTS SENTIMENTS OF MAN-IN-STREET WHO CONCERNED ABOUT STARVATION VICTIMS AND HUMAN MISERY WHICH BIAFRAN AUTHORITIES HIGHLIGHT EVERY DAY. IN ANSWER TO QUESTION "WHAT IS NEXT STEP SINCE YOU AND YOUR AUTHORITIES CLEARLY DO NOT INTEND REMAIN INACTIVE WHILE YOUR PEOPLE CONTINUE STARVING," HE STATED INTENTION ACCEPT ICRC INVITATION COME GENEVA TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS. HOWEVER, DUE PREVIOUS ENGAGEMENTS MONDAY (SEPTEMBER 22) FIRST POSSIBLE DATE. (HE ALSO MENTIONED MEETINGS FROM SEPT 24 THROUGH 28 INDICATING POSSIBLE CONFERENCE OF BIAFRAN REPS IN EUROPE.) OBI VOLUNTEERED CALL GUTMAN IN CASE ANY NEW DEVELOPMENTS PRIOR MONDAY.

2. COMMENTS: OBI CLEARLY HAD NO NEW INSTRUCTIONS FROM OWERRI RE ICRC DAYLIGHT PROPOSAL WHICH SEEMS OCCUPY LOW PRIORITY ON HIS LIST OF PROBLEMS. HOWEVER, HE WAS NOTICEABLY LESS STRIDENT THAN PREVIOUSLY WHEN HE DISCUSSED GUARANTEES AND AT ONE TIME ALMOST GAVE IMPRESSION THAT SOME ADDITIONAL WORDING (UNSPECIFIED) MIGHT DO. IT SOUNDED AS IF SOMETHING TO SAVE FACE WAS NEEDED SINCE BIAFRANS HAD RAISED ISSUE SO SPECIFICALLY. HOWEVER, THIS VERY LIKELY IS MERE CHANGE OF TACTICS AS INDICATED BY NEW EMPHASIS ON OBTAINING FMG CONSENT TO ORIGINAL VERSION OF FLIGHT PROPOSAL. OBI KNOWS PERFECTLY WELL THIS OUT OF BALL PARK BUT PUTS MONKEY BACK ON ICRC/FMG WHILE SIDESTEPPING CONTROVERSY WITH LUNS GROUP GOVERNMENTS.
BASSIN:

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

XL SOC 3 RED CROSS

CONFIDENTIAL 917

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03342 171611Z

51
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01,

PRS 01, SS 20, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, AF 12, UPW 01, E

DOT 12, RSR 01, 165 W

035598

P 171535Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2990
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 3342

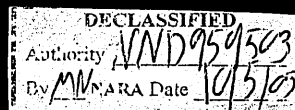
SUBJECT NIGERIA-ICRC

STATE FOR AMB. FERGUSON

1. SUMMARY: LATEST DISCUSSION WITH BASSET INDICATES THAT ICRC HAS COMPLETELY SHELVED TEST FLIGHTS AS LONG AS BIAFRANS REJECT AGREEMENT.
2. FOLLOWING ARE MAIN POINTS DEVELOPED IN COURSE EXTENDED CONVERSATION WITH BASSET THIS A.M. ICRC HAS NOW ENTERED PERIOD OF DYNAMIC WAITING PENDING RETURN NAVILLE AND BIGNAMI ON FRIDAY OR SATURDAY AND ARRIVAL GEN. STROH, SWEDISH RED CROSS, LATE THIS WEEK, AND CONTACT WITH OR REPLY FROM OBI.
3. IN NEW TELEPHONE CALL FREYMOND HAD TOLD BASSET THAT TEST FLIGHTS HAD ONLY BEEN INTENDED IN CASE ABSENCE OF BIAFRAN REPLY OR OF VAGUE ANSWER. BIAFRAN STATEMENTS, HOWEVER, NOT ONLY CONSTITUTED "CLEAR REFUSAL" BUT, IN FACT, "DENOUNCED AGREEMENT." FLIGHTS WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE REJECTED

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03342 171611Z

AND POSSIBLY EVEN SHOT AT WITH EVIDENT DANGERS TO SAFETY OF PLANE AND CREW. THUS, TEST FLIGHTS WOULD "LAY BLAME" ON BIAFRA "BY SUPPLYING UNILATERAL ARGUMENT". THE ASSESSMENT OF BLAME, HOWEVER, LAY OUTSIDE THE COMPETENCE OF ICRC, A NEUTRAL ORGANIZATION.

4. FREYMOND ALSO HAD RELATED THE ABANDONMENT OF TEST FLIGHTS TO THE PRESENCE OF 70 ICRC PEOPLE IN ENCLAVE. ICRC POLICY MUST "PRESERVE INTEGRITY OF BASIC DELEGATION FOR TRADITIONAL ICRC JOBS IN BIAFRA."

5. BASSET MENTIONED HAVING BEEN IN TOUCH WITH FRENCH. LATTER WERE UNHAPPY OVER BIAFRAN REJECTION AND "WOULD SEE WHAT THEY COULD DO." BASSET IS STILL TRYING LOCATE HOUPEUT BOIGNY IN ORDER GET HIM TO USE HIS INFLUENCE WITH BIAFRANS.

6. BASSET'S OWN WORK PLAN FOR NEXT COUPLE DAYS WILL AIM AT:
(A) MAKING CONTACT WITH OBI TO GO OVER ARGUMENTS AND WITH HELP PRESSURES GENERATED BY OTHERS OBTAIN REVERSAL BIAFRAN POSITION. FREYMOND HAD CABLED MESSAGE TO OBI ON MONDAY ASKING HIM, INTER ALIA, COME GENEVA FOR DISCUSSIONS. TO DATE, OBI HAS NOT REPLIED TO THIS NOR TO ANY OTHER MESSAGE AND KEPT "OUT OF TELEPHONE REACH."

(B) ICRC IS PREPARING GRADUAL "TRANSFORMATION" OF BIAFRAN OPERATION, I.E. MOVING OUT OF RELIEF PERSONNEL BUT LEAVING MEDICAL/SURGICAL TEAMS. FOOD FOR MEDICAL TEAM WOULD CONTINUE BE FLOWN DISCRETELY VIA JCA AT PRESENT 10-15 TON LEVEL, MAYBE MORE. HOWEVER, GREAT CARE WOULD BE EXERCISED KEEP THIS FROM LAGOS IN ORDER NOT JEOPARDIZE RESIDUAL ICRC OPERATIONS IN FMG AFTER SEPTEMBER 30.

(C) FRENCH RED CROSS WOULD CONTINUE ARRANGEMENT UNDER WHICH 30 TO 40 TONS/WEEK MEDICAL SUPPLIES ARE FERRIED FROM LIBREVILLE TO ICRC TEAMS. ICRC'S CASH SUPPORT FOR THIS OPERATION HAS ENABLED FRENCH RC LAY ON ADDITIONAL PLANE. HOWEVER, IT WAS UNABLE/UNWILLING FURTHER INCREASE AIR BRIDGE.

7. BASSET IS CONCERNED ABOUT DISPOSAL OF STOCKS AT COTONOU/SISTABEL (APPROXIMATELY 15,000 TONS) AS JCA/SAO TOME SATURATED AND ITS AIRLIFT CLOSE TO LIMITS CAPACITY AND ULI UNABLE SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASE NUMBER LANDINGS.

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05



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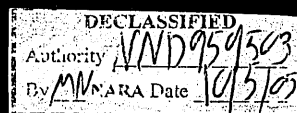
PAGE 03 GENEVA 03342 171611Z

8. WHEN ASKED ABOUT CONTINUED "OPERATIONAL LEVEL" RUMORS ABOUT POSSIBLE CONTINUATION ICRC AIRLIFTS UNDER NEW CONSORTIUM LABEL, BASSET REPLIED THAT THERE WAS MUCH CONFUSED INFO AND ONE REASON WHY HE REQUESTED STPOH COME GENEVA.

9. COMMENTS: FREYMOND'S UNABASHED REVERSAL OF HIS EARLIER ARGUMENTS AND PROPOSED POLICIES MIGHT INDICATE THAT HE HAD COUNTED FIRMLY ON FMG REJECTION AND PROBABLY ON BIAFRAN APPROVAL IN ITS WAKE. HIS PRECISE REASONS FOR GOING AS EASY AS POSSIBLE ON BIAFRANS ARE UNCLEAR ESPECIALLY AS BASSET CLAIMED THAT FRENCH WERE UNHAPPY OVER BIAFRAN POSITION.
BASSIN

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
XR DEF 12-5 BIAFRA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

XR POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SECRET 255

PAGE 01 LIBREV 00964 171609Z

45 S
ACTION: AFI 18

INFO: OCT 01, IO 13, UCF 05, EUR 17, AID 28, ACDA 16, MC 02, E 15, DOT 12,
CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03,
RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, SRI 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01,
/200 W

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R 171530Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2816
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T LIBREVILLE 964

GENEVA FOR AMB FERGUSON

SUBJECT: BIAFRA REJECTION DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

1. FRENCH AMBASSADOR DELAUNEY TOLD ME, AS PERHAPS LAST PERSON TO KNOW, THAT SIMPLE REASON WHY BIAFRA COULD NEVER ACCEPT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS WAS BECAUSE RELIEF BY DAY WOULD REMOVE COVER FOR ARMS LIFELINE BY NIGHT.

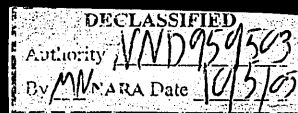
2. IN THIS CONNECTION, SEPTEL REPORTS SIGHTINGS BY EMBOFF OF AMMUNITION (30 CAL, 75 MM AND 105 HOW) SHIPMENT BEING UNLOADED NOW IN LIBREVILLE PORT FROM SS VERACRUZ.

3. DELAUNEY ALSO TOLD ME THAT BONGO HAD ACCEPTED GOWON'S REQUEST FOR HIS GOOD OFFICES IN EFFECTING MEETING WITH OJUKWU.
FUNKHOUSER

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Department of State ^{Xr DEF 12-5 BIAFRA} TELEGRAM

SECRET 074

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PAGE 01 LIBREV 00956 171718Z

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ACTION: E 15

INFO: OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, DOT 12,

MC 02, EUR 17, AID 28, RSR 01, 169 W

036125

R 171535Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2817
INFO USMISSION GENEVA

SECRET LIBREVILLE 956

GENEVA FOR AMB FERGUSON

SUBJECT: BIAFRA ARMS AIRLIFT

REF: STATE 156082 - POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

1. DEPARTMENT REFTEL SEEMS MISS POINT OF QUERY CONTAINED IN
LIBREVILLE 938 CONCERNING KNOWN ARMS RPT ARMS AIRLIFT PLANES
OPERATING INTO BIAFRA.

2. ON BASIS OUR OBSERVATIONS HERE (NB LIBREVILLE 958 AND
WEEKLY AIRLIFT TABULATIONS), WE ASSUME CAS REPORT CITED
STATE 154371 IDENTIFYING N-7776-C AS "ONLY AIRCRAFT IN
BIAFRA ARMS AIRLIFT IN OPERATION" IS ERRONEOUS.
GP: J
FUNKHOUSER

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Authority VND 959503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 21-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03343 171627Z

51
ACTION: UCF 05

INFO: OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, UPW 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03,

AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

PI 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, E 15, DOT 12, SSO 00, RSR 01, 177
035749

R 171540Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2991
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

CONFIDENTIAL NIGERIA 3343

SUBJ: NIGERIA/LICROSS

REF: GENEVA 3326

STATE FOR AMB. FERGUSON

1. IN FOLLOWUP RE REFTEL WE CALLED ON LICROSS EXECSEC BEER WHO
PERSONAL FRIEND OF GENERAL BERG. BEER CONFIRMED INFO REFTEL
INDICATING THAT SOLE PURPOSE BERG'S ATTENDANCE AT ISTANBUL
APPARENTLY WAS SOUND OUT FMG REPIRE POSSIBILITIES "LEGALIZING"
JCA FLIGHTS. A FEW DAYS PRIOR TO ISTANBUL MEETING CHENARD HAD
ASKED HIM (BEER) TO ACCREDIT A JCA LEGAL OBSERVER IN VIEW OF
HIS ORGANIZATION'S GREAT INTEREST IN VARIOUS ASPECTS OF INTER-
NATIONAL LAW THAT WOULD BE DISCUSSED. IN VIEW OF TIME ELEMENT,
ACCREDITATION OF CARITAS AND WCC, BERG WAS ONLY ABLE OBTAIN
AUTHORIZATION FOR JCA TO SEND OBSERVER IN PERSONAL CAPACITY. TO
HIS GREAT SURPRISE OBSERVER TURNED OUT TO BE GENERAL BERG
RATHER THAN A LEGAL EXPERT. IN VIEW THIS CAREFUL SCENARIO, BEER
IS CONVINCED THAT JCA VERY SERIOUS REGARDING DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS.
BERG HAD BEEN MOST PLEASED BY POLITE RECEPTION AND HEARING ACCOR-
DED HIM BY ENAHORO. HE HAD BEEN AFRAID FMG OFFICIALS MIGHT REFUSE

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Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03343 171627Z

ANY CONTACT WITH JCA REP.

2. BEER EXPRESSED HIS COMPLETE INCOMPREHENSION ICRC'S PRESENT POLICY AS FREYMOND HAD TALKED TO HIM IN ISTANBUL IN MOST "HAWKISH FASHION" ABOUT TEST FLIGHTS.

3. LICROSS IS AWARE OF SENTIMENT, AT LEAST AT OPERATING LEVELS, IN SCANDINAVIAN SOCIETIES TO FIND WAYS CARRY ON ICRC AIRLIFT. HOWEVER, HE THOUGHT THAT MEN SUCH AS GENERAL STROH WOULD BE OPPOSED TO ANY ADVENTURES. ICRC'S ATTITUDE WOULD BE FURTHER COMPLICATING FACTOR. GALOPIN, WHO TYPICAL OF OLD ICRC GUARD, HAD TOLD HIM POINT BLANK ICRC'S PRESTIGE DID NOT MAKE IT DESIRABLE SEE OTHER RED CROSS ORGANIZATION SUCCEED WHERE IT FAILED. THUS, TURNOVER OF ASSETS TO CHURCHES WOULD BE PREFERABLE FROM POINT VIEW OF ICRC'S FUTURE. (BEER MENTIONED THAT NORWEGIAN RC VERY PERTURBED OVER ICRC'S HANDING OVER NORWEGIAN FIELD HOSPITAL EQUIPMENT TO JCA/SAO TOME WITHOUT PRIOR CONSULTATION).

4. IN TALKS WITH ADEMOLA IN ISTANBUL, LICROSS HAD TAKEN NEGATIVE ATTITUDE RE TAKEOVER COLLECTION OF FUNDS AND RELIEF SUPPLIES WHICH UP TO NOW HANDLED BY ICRC. LICROSS WAS STILL WILLING ASSIST NIGERIAN RED CROSS DIRECTLY AND THROUGH NATIONAL SOCIETIES ONCE NIGERIAN RC'S SPECIFIC ROLE IS DEFINED. HOWEVER, BEER STATED THAT HE HAD AGAIN WARNED ADEMOLA AGAINST EXPECTING LICROSS TO REPLACE ICRC IN ANY WAY. LICROSS ASSISTANCE WOULD ESSENTIALLY BE LIMITED TO TECHNICAL ADVICE.

5. COMMENTS: TENOR OF BEER'S REMARKS INDICATED CONSIDERABLE FRICTION BETWEEN ICRC AND LICROSS AT LEAST IN NIGERIAN RELIEF CONTEXT.
BASSIN

CONFIDENTIAL

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DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MM/ARA Date 10/5/05

MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANISATION
P. O. Box 1644, Lagos, Nigeria

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ACTION
is assigned to

AF

Lafayette Hotel, Rm. 625
Washington, D. C.
September 17, 1969

The Honourable Minister:
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Washington, D. C.

The Honourable Minister:

SIZEABLE RELIEF

I wish to seize this opportunity to express my gratitude through you to the Government and The People of America for the sizeable relief materials, said to be up to the value of £7,000,000 (seven million pounds), which your Government donated to give relief to those adversely affected by the civil war in Nigeria.

In spite of the unfortunate controversies that at times followed the methods of disposal of the relief materials, I still believe that if anything was wrong at all it must have been the evil work of agents, not the principals who donate the materials purely from humanitarian motives.

TROJAN HORSE

I sincerely would have wished that now that I am in your country, I am given the privilege of assessing the motives or sincerity behind the relief materials which many people in Nigeria are tempted to term as the Trojan Horse.

I dare say this, because I believe that the giving of aid by one is to seek God's Countenance on one hand, and, on the other, to seek the cooperation of the people of the country being helped. If by aiding Nigeria, America strains its relationship with the people or the majority of them, then no one benefits from such exercise.

INTERVIEW

This is why I am feeling inclined to interview you on this moot issue before my return to Nigeria. I shall, therefore, be glad if you will give me an appointment.

If you will let Mr. B. A. Stokes of your department, Nigeria Desk, know when you can see me, he will communicate with me. In the meantime, I am going to New York as you will see in the enclosed communications sent to you for your information.

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5/ JA' USMAN
Director General

Doc 27-9 Briefing - Nigeria

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

MATERIAL BENEFITS

Lest I am misunderstood, I want to make it crystal clear that my interest in this issue has nothing to do with politics. I am religiously convinced that if one can be of any use to you by determining the issue with a view to enlisting the cooperation and goodwill of the people of Nigeria, thereby clearing any area of misunderstanding and suspicion, both the givers and the receivers stand ample chance of attracting God's blessings and mutual benefits for themselves.

While Nigeria needs your country's material benefits -- in the field of science where your country excels in many fields of studies -- your country may be proud to feel that a country like Nigeria understands her and supports her morally.

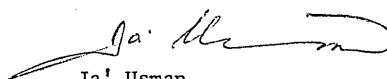
IF I COULD

On my part, as a humanitarianist looking for wherewithal for the needy in Nigeria and elsewhere, this country, USA, can not be considered as a possible area where one could get the cooperation of the government and the people, except the relationship between your country and Nigeria, nay, other nations, is good. This is why I am religiously in duty bound to help, if I could, to eliminate anything that could have the effect of creating suspicion that does no one any good.

May God guide you to understand my true intentions. Amen.

Sincerely,

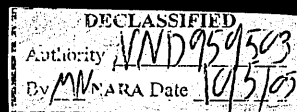
In the humanitarian Service of Islam
for MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANIZATION



Ja' Usman
Director-General

cc: Honorable President Richard M. Nixon

0693



MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANISATION
Lagos, Nigeria

To Embassies, Legations and Chanceries
Washington, D. C.

c/o Lafayette Hotel
Washington, D. C.
September 17, 1969

Your Excellencies:

OTHER NATIONS

Before coming to the United States of America, the Muslim International Relief Organisation communicated with many nations' governments its intention to send a delegation to study the situation created by the August Hurricane Camille on the coasts of Mississippi and Louisiana in order to know what other nations could do, if need be, to help the victims of Camille.

REGARD THE FORTUNE

The MIRO was quite aware of the fact that a wealthy country like America could contain her victims. Nevertheless, it was believed that notwithstanding her material self-sufficiency it would make for international good relationships if all would learn to regard the fortune of one nation as the blessings of others, and in time of adversity, if others would also feel concerned with another nation's misfortunes. Misfortune is no respecter of any person or nation. It is the part of the wind which is part of the existence of all men of flesh.

SEND COPIES

I arrived here on September 6, 1969. I have visited the areas affected by the Hurricane Camille. Herewith, I enclose three copies each of my appeal to the American People, letter sent to Hurricane Congressmen on the issue, and the letter to you.

I pray you to send copies of each of the communications to your home government and your representative in the United Nations, New York, for their information and necessary action. It is most likely that the Hurricane victims will, in due course, be properly cared for and made to realise that their country is wealthy enough to make them forget their losses by providing for them adequately. In the meantime the Red Cross is doing its best with the resources at its disposal to give mass scale aid which does not yet include recovery aid.

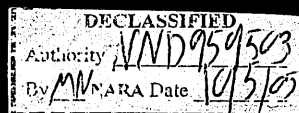
BURNING OF AL-AQSA MOSQUE

anyone who has been meeting Muslims from different parts of the world since the burning of the Holy Shrines, the Al-Aqsa Mosque, in Jerusalem, must have realised that Muslims all over have been very much unhappy over the incident.

In order to save an already troubled world the pain of a devastating worldwide war, I pray your Government and your Representative at the United Nations to help find a lasting solution to the Jerusalem or Arab/Israeli imbroglio, in order not to increase the world population of refugees, victims, whom not many people are prepared to donate for their help. When some people hear of donation to help the needy they fly as if death is about to seize them, whereas it is by giving in charity to the needy one attract God's blessings and comfort for one's self.

(Please turn over)

0694



Enclosed, herewith, also are three copies of a letter I have just dispatched to the Secretary General of the United Nations on the subject of the burning of Al-Aqsa Mosque - copy for your home government and your U.N. representative, please.

YOUR HOME GOVERNMENT

Kindly allow me to use this medium respectfully and humbly to inform your home government that the MIRO looks up to it to help it achieve its aims and objectives of aiding victims in any part of the world, irrespective of the victims' politics, race, colour, creed or religion, and that the MIRO looks forward to receiving donations to aid the millions of people adversely affected by the Civil War in Nigeria. The big problem of the Palestine Arab Refugees is still there, and only God knows to what extent the issue is now being aggravated. These refugees need adequate care from all men of God and all nations.

Let all men of goodwill continue to pray for better understanding between man and man, for man to be able to realise the folly in bringing about the destruction of his fellow man and the loss of his own self's poor soul.

May God guide and help man to save his fellow man and himself. Amen.

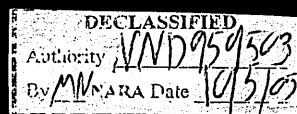
Yours sincerely,

In the humanitarian service of Islam
for MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANISATION

Ja' Usman

Director-General

0695



MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANISATION
P. O. Box 1944, Lagos, Nigeria

c/o Lafayette Hotel, Rm625
Washington, D. C.
September 17, 1969

U Thant, Esq.
Secretary General
United Nations
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. U Thant:

Owing to my absorbing interest in knowing something, and doing what I could about the recent Hurricane Camille and the victims in the United States of America, I regret I could not have time to come and interview you as I had earlier intended to do.

I am about completing matters relating to my visit to the areas of the Hurricane Camille. Enclosed herewith are copies of my appeal to the American People, Honorable Members of Congress and the Press. I trust that you will find them of interest in relation to the suffering humanity.

BURNING OF AL-AQSA MOSQUE

It is still my intention to interview you on the above issue of the burning of Al-Aqsa Mosque.

As I told you in my earlier communication, the interest of the MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANISATION as a humanitarian body is in this instance, based upon an urgent sincere desire to avert a most devastating world war which is bound to result from this issue if something positive is not done by the United Nations to demonstrate to Muslims all over the world that the Big Powers who direct the affairs of the United Nations, ipso facto, of the world, are not going to be accused by Muslims as not caring for their faith, their interest for which they are prepared to lay down their lives.

RESPECTED LEADER

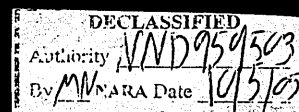
As I have said before, the Muslims who have had the luck of visiting the Al-Aqsa Mosque to say their prayers have always been regarding the Holy Shrine as a part of their lives and, of course, their faith; those Muslims who have not yet been there have all their days been praying to Allah to grant them the means and privileges of visiting the Holy Shrine - after Mecca and Medina, in order to perform one of the most important rites of Islam.

This is why all the Muslims were horrified when a highly respected leader of Muslims, His Majesty, ^{King} Abdul Aziz, the King of Saudi Arabia, called upon them in the way he had never done before. To suppose that the call of His Majesty would produce no effect would be a very disastrous miscalculation.

Men of goodwill all over the world should do something to avert conflict between Muslims and those being accused of responsibility for the desecration and destruction of the Relics and Holy Shrines of Islam. To wait to see a war to be followed by millions of displaced persons would be derelict of duty to God and man on the part of all of us concerned. This is why I seek an interview with you.

Yours sincerely,
In the humanitarian service of Islam
for MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANISATION
Ja Usman
Ja Usman, Director-General

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MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANISATION

Washington, D. C.
September 12, 1969

My dear Honorable Members of Congress:

LONG-TERM APPRAISAL

May I respectfully ask your indulgence in making the following observations in addition to what I have already stated in the attached appeal to the American people concerning the conditions of the victims of the recent Hurricane Camille:

1. That while the efforts to give the victims adequate relief from their immediate needs are highly appreciated and commendable, a long-term appraisal, far-reaching remedial and curative measure should be considered now from the start;
2. That from all evidence, it appears that while the wound might be decently bandaged from the surface, the actual sore that produces the pain might not be permanently cured or made to heal, and
3. That, in my humble opinion, any of the damaged buildings should not be repaired or rebuilt in the manner that before made them vulnerable to the ravages of the deadly Hurricane Camille?

GOD HAS WARNED

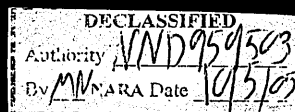
There is no doubt about the returning of the Hurricane Camille, sooner or later, except scientists measure up in time. What no one knows now is what will be its intensity when it reappears. It may be less, and it may not be less, or it may be less when it reappears for several times to come, but one of the future reappearances may be more severe than what it was this time -- God forbid. Yes, God forbid. But God has now warned man!

This is why it would be wiser now to adopt a long-term aid program than a crash one.

RICH MINERALS

While I do not wish to indulge in an expert's exercise as to how this could be worked out, from a humanitarian point of view, I wish to observe that the act of nature that brought the calamity should not be left as a great burden alone upon the victims. There

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is no doubt that even if they are now rewarded one hundred per cent of their losses, they have already taken a lot of communal burdens and personal inconveniences, appropriate to what they would have enjoyed if it were rich minerals, such as petroleum or diamonds, that were discovered in that area.

Certainly, the national Government and the people in general would have directly and indirectly taken the lion share of such mineral deposits through direct and indirect taxes, also.

DELIVER THE VICTIMS

It is from this point of view, coupled with the humanitarian aspect of it -- justice and fair play, that I humbly appeal to your conscience to deliver the victims of the Hurricane Camille from the lasting pains of a disaster that was not of their own making.

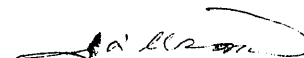
NO CLAIM

There is no doubt that you were already aware of all that I have said above. I have only as a neutral body humbly attempted to remind you without making any claim for originating any new idea in this matter.

May Allah deliver mankind from the wrath of acts of nature and the destruction of man's own made troubles - Amen.

Sincerely yours,

In the humanitarian service of Islam,
for MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANISATION



Ja' Usman
Director-General

0698

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MVA
Date	10/3/05

MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANISATION

To the American People,

CONDITIONS OF

On behalf of the known and yet unknown needy people all over the world, I pray you, the American people, to allow me to seize this opportunity of my visit to the United States of America to see the conditions of the unfortunate victims of the recent Hurricane Camille on the coasts of Mississippi and Louisiana to appeal to you, the American people, to open your hearts in sympathy for the needy, for whom their suffering lives are worse than the burning fire; i.e., those adversely affected by an act of nature, war or otherwise.

UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD

Morally, an appeal to you, the American people, to aid the needy is neither new nor something to which you have not been responding. This new approach is a direct appeal to your conscience for you to donate to aid the needy on a broader basis based upon the universal brotherhood of man, without allowing yourselves to be prejudiced by political, racial, color, creed or religious considerations.

GOODWILL AND COOPERATION

There is no doubt that you will realize the amount of God's blessings and the goodwill and cooperation of your fellow men and women all over the world that you would derive from your unbiased and sincere aid to the needy, irrespective of their race, religion or creed, politics or color.

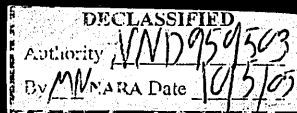
No reasonable person would say that you, the American people, because of your material self-sufficiency, have no need of other people's goodwill and cooperation. After all, man does not live on bread alone. Certainly, you need others as others need you. It is only God that is self-sufficient and free from all needs. In spite of God's self-sufficiency, He loves those who know Him, praise Him and obey His injunctions.

In the name of God, I appeal to you, the American people, to contribute generously, individually and collectively, in societies, organizations and companies, to aid the needy wherever they may be. Here lies a genuine and everlasting greatness for you, individually, collectively or nationally.

AN INCUMBENT RESPONSIBILITY

Think of the millions of human beings, men and women, who are displaced and are in great need, as a result of the civil war in Nigeria. They need food, medicine, clothing, repairs and rebuilding of their shelters. These will involve millions of pounds which must be made available by men of God, men of goodwill and philanthropists all over the world. The American people are hereby called upon to show sincere and genuine concern and take the lead in aiding the victims.

0699



Think of the victims of the recent Hurricane Camille on the coasts of Mississippi and Louisiana. The victims there normally need your attention. You must make them feel that they belong to one of the leading families in the world and that their needs will be met with the minimum delay. Fortunately, here you have a Red Cross team which is aware of its responsibility to the people. What one would suggest here seems to have been receiving proper handling in Government quarters, as evidenced in the debate in the House of Representatives, when a representative of the area, Mr. William H. Colmer, introduced a relief bill which received the unanimous acclamation of both the Government and the opposition parties in the House.

One only now wishes that the honorable members' desires would be translated into practical action in no distant future with a view to meeting the needs of the victims, adequately or reasonably.

BROTHERLY LOVE

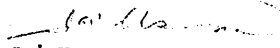
While the officials of the Red Cross and those of the Government are alive to their responsibilities, one certainly hopes that the American public is equally awaiting to give its massive support when called upon to demonstrate its brotherly love to the unfortunate ones in the community.

I have been to the area, and, in a matter of a few weeks time, I hope to be back to see how the victims have been treated by one of the greatest and wealthiest nations of our time.

I must remark here that the way American people, leaders of opinion all over the States, come to the affected areas to assess the extent of the damages, and to know what the Red Cross is doing in giving aid to the victims, and also to ascertain what they could do to help, is very reassuring and highly commendable.

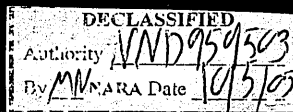
To you, the American people, I hereby appeal to keep constantly in mind that you have an incumbent responsibility not only as leaders in material things but also to show the way in ~~carrying~~ for the less fortunate ones who are in need all over the surface of the earth. You, kindly, therefore, must be prepared to donate generously for the care of the needy, and, in so doing, please send your generous donations in checks or postal money orders, payable to MIRO, to aid the needy to the National Bank of Washington, 619 - 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., or the National Bank of Nigeria, Ltd., 15, Thogmorton Avenue, London E.C.2, or National Bank of Nigeria, Gowon Street, Lagos, Nigeria, or send your advice of, or dispatch, any relief materials you are donating to the MIRO, 60, Awolowo Road, Ikoyi, P. O. Box 1944, Lagos, Nigeria.

Thanks,


Ja' Usman
DIRECTOR-GENERAL, MIRO

Washington, D. C.
September 12, 1969

0700



MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANISATION

P. O. Box 1944, Lagos, Nigeria

c/o Lafayette Hotel, Rm 625

Washington, D. C.

September 17, 1969

To the American Press

My dear Editor:

IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY

Kindly allow me to introduce the MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANISATION to you.

You will agree with me that there is a need for the suffering humanity in the midst of plenty to have an agent, or organisation, that would serve as a link between them (these creatures, men and women, suffering as a result of acts of nature, man's own made troubles, wars or otherwise, all over the world) and their fellow creatures, the fortunate affluent and influential people, organisations, governments and nations.

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN

Such a linking body must try, as far as it is humanly possible, to carry on its duties based upon the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, rendering its aid, materially, spiritually and morally, to any victims, sincerely and impartially, irrespective of their political leanings, creed or religious beliefs, colour or race. The overriding or the only consideration must be that all men are created by one Supreme God, that all men belong to one universal family, and that the wealth of one section should give the others joy and happiness, and that, likewise, the woe of another section should be the immediate concern of others.

Agreed, this sounds utopian. In spite of doubts about the accomplishments of this seeming grandiose idea, as enumerated above, no reasonable person would oppose the setting up of such an organisation.

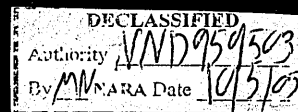
LESSENING AREAS OF TENSIONS

The fact that the founding of such an organisation would immensely benefit mankind by lessening areas of tensions, bridging gaps between man and man, nation and nation, beliefs and beliefs, colour and colour, sections and sections, or tribes and tribes, has given birth to the -

MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANISATION, with a view to giving practical translation to the teaching of the Brotherhood of man projected in several verses in the Holy Quran. One of the verses - Chap. 49 vs. 13, runs thus:

O mankind! We created
You from a single (pair)
Of a male and a female.
And made you into
Nations and tribes, that

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Ye may know each other
 (Not that ye may despise
 (Each other). Verily
 The most honoured of you
 In the sight of God
 Is (he who is) the most
 Righteous of you.
 And God has full knowledge
 And is well acquainted
 (With all things).

THE MOTTO

No one wishes to make believe that the wobbling feet of man would be all the time above faltering or that critics and devilish men would not sometimes misinterpret the good intentions of the MIRO, or attempt to obstruct the noble work which the Organisation is out to do to help suffering humanity. What we religiously believe is that we shall do our best to prove the usefulness of the MIRO to humanity. We pray to God to guide our faltering feet and guide us to do all that is good in the aims and objectives of the MIRO.

The motto of the MIRO is "Goodwill towards all, malice against none." We of the MIRO shall always arm ourselves, our human delicate feet, courageously with the faith that as long as we work in accordance with the ideals of the MIRO, God will be with us and He will bring His own men and women all over the earth, sooner or later, to support His cause for the benefit of His suffering creatures and the understanding of man and man.

FOSTER GOOD RELATIONS

In giving aid, we are not in haste. We will continue to make sure that we give aid to the needy with whatever God and man make available to us. If it is knowledge, we shall always give out to aid victims wherever we can reach them and those who can help them materially and otherwise. If it is material benefits, we will always with the utmost dispatch organise the relief materials to reach the victims who need them.

Above all, we shall always do whatever is possible to help foster good relations with a view to averting conflicts that do no one any good but create hardships for the trouble brewers themselves and innocent ones.

NIGERIA

We are praying that the unfortunate conflicts in Nigeria be peacefully resolved, while we are doing our best to find relief materials to help the Nigerian Federal Government in giving relief and rehabilitating the victims of the civil war in the country. For our first phase of relief operations, we have set out to collect relief funds and material estimated at £3,000,000.

HURRICANE CAMILLE

Here in America, there is a problem of the victims of the recent Hurricane Camille. In terms of the size of this great country, America, or

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the size of the universe itself, as a whole, the areas affected may be regarded as small. But judging from the furious intensity of the Camille and the havoc it wrought at a visitation, one is bound to reflect upon the injunctions of the Holy Quran where God spoke of the winds that scatter and blow broadcast; that lift and bear away heavy weights; and the winds that shall on the Last Day blow and sweep level mountains and reduce the universe to a level plain.

Seeing is believing. One needs to visit the affected area to see for one's self. Ships in the mid seas were swept ashore where they now wait moving back into the high seas, God knows when; a canal is on the way being dug to return a heavy barge washed ashore to the waters.

ISSUE WELL IN HAND

I gathered, and it is a common knowledge here, that former Hurricane Camille had never been so heavy, furious and destructive. I asked a Red Cross official who was taking me around, supposing the Camille was gathering forces with the growing of years what would it be like in a thousand year's time?

No one need panic over this, I understand scientists are having the issue well in hand to see how a plane could fly into the hurricane and bomb it asunder thereby rendering it powerless.

TO NULLIFY ITS POWER

Questions that now confront scientists might be one of what type of bombs, for fear of dangerous fall outs and at which spot to hit the Camille to avoid more havoc than what the Hurricane Camille itself could do.

Experts know always the whereabouts of the wind monster, what has completely beaten human ingenuity, is when and at where it would increase its ferocity, or if they have known all these, what to do to nullify its power.

Maybe this is like the secret of man's death, when, where and how to conquer it.

UNCONQUERABLE DEATH

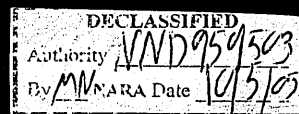
In spite of man's assumed greatness, before the Almighty God, this aspect reduces man completely to nothingness, dust that man is, is the dust to which he is bound to return, except as it pleases Allah, who sits on man with the unconquerable throne of death. Then those who gave spiritual nourishment to their being by obeying God, doing good and helping the needy, would have better lives that could carry them above the heavy shackles that attract the flesh back to its Mother Earth.

But will man learn by all that happens around him daily? Pardon my digression for telling you all that you have already known.

Coming back to the victims of the Hurricane Camille, the estimated number of families affected has been put at about 69,100 with homes destroyed at 5,648.

Since it would be unreasonable to call for the aid of other nations to help these Camille victims, I have tried to give the moral support which they need at this stage to help them put their case across to the American powers that be.

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The attached are copies of the appeal and the letter which I have addressed to the American People and American Congressmen.

MORALLY CONVINCED

In order to help strengthen their case and help find relief materials for victims elsewhere, I pray you to publish them - in your highly esteemed and widely read journal. But if you consider that your publishing them would not be helpful to the cause of the needy, please do not publish them. Please do that which you are morally convinced that is better under the prevailing conditions in this country. I come to attempt to help, not to damage.

I wish, with your permission, to seize this opportunity to appeal to you to increase your invaluable campaign for the aid of the needy all over the world.

FLY OF MISFORTUNE

Man is always apt to forget the plight of the unfortunate victims as soon as the impact of the shock on him dies down. Until one is directly or indirectly affected, one seems to forget that the fly of misfortune that perches upon one's neighbor has its fellow flies of misfortune, that could at any time perch on him or on his nation. Until one goes down to the grave one is not free, and as long as the world lasts, no one or nation should herself feel safe from trouble.

Maybe because one helps one's neighbor God would save one from the unpleasantness of life, maybe because a nation is favorably disposed to others, God would turn away nature's wrath from her borders.

DONATE THE COLUMNS

This is why I must have to seek your most needed cooperation and assistance to advocate the cause of the needy.

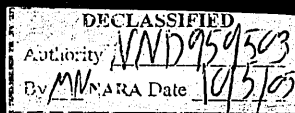
I appeal to you to donate the columns of your journal generously to plead with the public to help the needy wherever they may be.

I would have called a Press Conference in order to have the opportunity of explaining some points that you would like to have clarified, as it were, man is not always disposed to respond to the invitation of the needy, if I were advocating the cause of some of the worldly kings, I would have been certain of attracting an audience. That is why I do not want to fool myself by, in the first instance, calling a press conference. Rather, I hand you herewith what I would have told you at a Press Conference, if I had called one.

BURNING OF AL-AQSA MOSQUE

If, however, you have some points you wish to ask me, I shall be glad to be at your service, when you send one of your representatives to interview me in New York where I am now going to interview the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. U Thant, over the issue of the burning of Al-Aqsa, which has now set Muslims all over the world hitching. I believe that something could be done to save the situation before matters get out of control.

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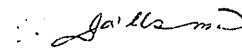
LIFE IS A WIND

Please pardon my encroaching upon your precious time. Life is a wind that blows here, there and everywhere. What will really be its ultimate end is known to none but Allah, the Lord of the Worlds; depend upon Him then you lay hold upon the handle that breaks not.

Thanks.

Sincerely yours,

In the humanitarian service of Islam
for MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANISATION

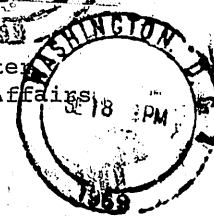

Ja' Usman
Director-General

0705

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



The Honourable Minister
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Washington, D. C.



0706

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND959503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ORGANISATION

DIRECTOR GENERAL

0707

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND959503
By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05

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CONFIDENTIAL
Classification
Department of State
TELEGRAM

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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

INFO: Amembassy LONDON
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US Mission GENEVA
USUN

FOR BRUBECK

Subj: Nigeria Relief - JCA C-97's
Ref: Lagos 8375 WJ 7 AF/SN

If, as appears likely (reftel), you unable see Gowon notification to FMG of our provision additional two C-97's to JCA might best be latter made to Arikpo. If, however, /ms not in Lagos would appreciate your judgment as to whether there any other official available with whom matter could be raised or whether it better to wait and discuss it here with Arikpo next week.

2. Present Flight Test Research intention is to ferry two C-97's during week Sept 22, from US to Sao Tome via Azores and Cape Verde. Aircraft will not land West Africa. Within 48 hours two aircraft now based Sao Tome will depart for Tel Aviv via Cape Verde and Las Palmas for overhaul and positioning as maintenance backup. JCA clearly understands and has agreed that no more than four C-97's

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:GBS/erry:ba	STARTING DATE 9/17/69	TEL. EXT. 29311	APPROVED BY: AF - David D. Newsom
CLEARANCES AF-Amb. Moore U/CF-Amb. Ferguson (sub)			

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FORM FS-413
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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 954503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 367

PAGE 01 PARIS 14173 171946Z

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ACTION AFI 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, USIE 00, NSCE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, HI 02,

INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, UCF 05,

UPW 01, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, E 15, DOT 12, CCO 00,

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7176
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ROME

CONFIDENTIAL PARIS 14173

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA: ICRC FLIGHTS--MEETING WITH PAPAL NUNCIO

1. AMBASSADOR TOOK ADVANTAGE OF PREVIOUSLY-SCHEDULED MEETING SEPTEMBER 16 WITH PAPAL NUNCIO TO EXPRESS OUR DISMAY OVER BIAFRAN REFUSAL OF ICRC EMERGENCY AIRLIFT AND OUR HOPE THAT BIAFRANS COULD BE PERSUADED REVERSE THEIR PRESENT STAND. AMBASSADOR REVIEWED FOR NUNCIO ARGUMENTS WE HAD PREVIOUSLY USED WITH BIAFRANS, EMPHASIZING THAT IT WOULD BE TRAGEDY IF TECHNICAL QUESTIONS SUCH AS INSPECTION PROCEDURES OR POLITICALLY UNREALISTIC DEMANDS SUCH AS SECURITY GUARANTEES WERE PERMITTED TO BLOCK RESUMPTION THESE ESSENTIAL FLIGHTS.

2. AMBASSADOR REMINDED NUNCIO THAT AMBASSADOR FERGUSON HAD VISITED POPE TWICE TO DISCUSS QUESTION BIAFRAN RELIEF. HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT IN VIEW POPE'S DEEP CONCERN WITH THIS SITUATION, VATICAN MIGHT AT THIS STAGE BE ABLE EXERT SOME INFLUENCE WITH BIAFRANS TO SECURE THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF ICRC OPERATION.

3. NUNCIO MADE NO DIRECT RESPONSE TO REQUEST FOR VATICAN INTERVENTION ON QUESTION ICRC FLIGHTS, BUT EXPRESSED VIEW THAT

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 14173 171946Z

CEASE-FIRE SHOULD BE MOST IMPORTANT IMMEDIATE GOAL IN ORDER
PERMIT NEGOTIATIONS ON BIAFRAN FUTURE TO TAKE PLACE IN MORE
FAVORABLE ATMOSPHERE. GP-3.
SHRIVER

CONFIDENTIAL

0710

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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UNCLASSIFIED
Classification

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Origin: ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS
Info: INFO: Amembassy LIBREVILLE
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PARIS
Amconsul IBADAN
KADUNA
US MISSION GENEVA

SUBJ: Nigeria - Press Summary

REF: Lagos 8376

1. AFP story mentioned reftel also carried in Sept 17 NYTimes. In another article paper covered assault on Ibadan prison. On ICRC Times said:

QTE The ICRC said today it was continuing seek agreement with Biafran authorities that would permit resumption of Red Cross relief airlift to their besieged territory.

Biafrans rejected on Sunday an accord reached by Committee with FMG for ~~daylight~~ daytime Red Cross flights to rebel region. Biafrans rejected terms of the accord on ground they endangered Biafran security UNQTE.

2. Under eight rpt eight column heading " Nigeria Rejects Biafran Request for Relief Flight Assurances" Post Sept 17 covered Enahoro interview. Full text follows:

QTE A Nigerian Government spokesman today rejected Biafran demands that a third party be brought in to guarantee the security of the breakaway state under a proposal for Red Cross relief flights.

Drafted by: AF/P:WCPowell:mb

9/17/69

Tel. Ext. 20322

Telegraphic transmission end
classification approved by:

AF/SN - Mr. Cherry

Clearances:

U/CF-Amb. Ferguson (Info)

UNCLASSIFIED
Classification

FORM DS-322
8-65

DECLASSIFIED
Authority: VMD 954503
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

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Origin
Info:

ACTION: Page 2 of tel to Amembassy LAGOS

The rejection, made by Nigerian Information Commissioner Anthony Enahoro during an interview, brought relief negotiations back to dead center. Hopes had risen over last few days that impasse caused when Nigeria shot down a Red Cross plane in June might be broken.

"It is not relevant. And it is not practicable," Enahoro said of Biafra's weekend demand that third country or an international organization guarantee agreement reached by Nigeria and Red Cross last week would not be exploited militarily by Nigerians.

"How could that work?" Enahoro asked.

"They were aware of terms of agreement," he said, disputing Biafran contention they had not been consulted on agreement, "and they waited until now to bring this up."

At same time, Enahoro said agreement--which gives Nigeria right in principle call down any relief flight for inspection in Lagos after it had taken off from Dahomey--was still alive.

If Biafra accepted agreement, the three ~~xxx~~ trial weeks of flights would begin with first flight, Enahoro said. But he doubts that Biafra's leader, Gen. Ojukwu, will accept relief flights.

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Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

Clearances:

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Classification

FORM
8-65 DS-322

0712

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Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

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INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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Origin

ACTION: Page 3 of tel to Amembassy LAGOS

Info:

"He needs the starving babies," Enahoro said. "He needs the propaganda they provide. If that ends, that would be end of world interest in this secession."

The Biafrans say they fear Nigerian aircraft will follow the relief planes into enclave and bomb Uli airfield, the last link between Biafra and outside world.

The final part of proposed eight-point relief plan states agreement "shall be without prejudice to military operations by federal forces."

Enahoro said, "We would look silly attacking the airfield while Red Cross planes were unloading relief supplies. But if there were gunrunners unloading during the day, we would have to attack . . . We are in favor of orderly supply of relief."

In another development today, reliable reports here indicated that a Biafran plane had bombed oil installations at Ughelli. This was the third Biafran air attack in Nigeria in past two weeks. UNQTE

END

ROGERS

Drafted by:

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

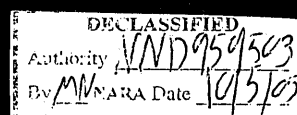
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INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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Origin ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY
Info: INFO: Amembassy LONDON, COTONOU
PARIS
US MISSION GENEVA
Amconsul IBADAN
KADUNA

SUBJECT: Nigeria - NYTimes Editorial

Headed "Setbacks to Peace in Nigeria" NYTimes Sept 16 ran following editorial:

QTE Biafra's leaders have again shown world they are ready accept mass starvation of their people rather than sacrifice the minimum of "face" to permit full-scale resumption relief flights. They have rejected an agreement worked out with Nigeria by ICRC to allow unhindered daytime flights of food and medicine into secessionist enclave for a three-week trial.

Perhaps Nigerians would have abused provision of the pact that empowered them call down for inspection in Lagos any relief planes en route to Biafra from Dahomey. Nigerian officials had assured Red Cross and interested governments that Lagos would only rarely invoke this right, which is entirely consistent with Geneva Conventions of 1949.

Point about this, however, is that any major Nigerian harassment of the daytime airlift, at Lagos or anywhere else, would soon become apparent. That is why Biafra's claim that Nigeria could exploit Red Cross plan for

Drafted by: AF/P:WSPowell:mb 9/16/69

Tel. Ext. 20322

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

AF/SN - Mr. Sherry

Clearances:

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By: MVA Date: 10/5/03

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Origin

ACTION: Page 2 of tel to Amembassy LAGOS

Info:

military advantage is without substance. Red Cross would halt flights if Nigeria attempted such trickery.

General Ojukwu's rejection of agreement he previously had accepted in principle means Nigeria once again will not be put to test. The Biafran hawks, ever willing exploit starvation to advance their political ends, have won again; and Nigerian hawks, whose objections General Gowon overrode in order make the agreement with Red Cross, will be jubilant. Cause of peace and reunification will not be advanced.

Nor will peace and unity be promoted by Chief Enahoro's rejection of unconditional talks with Biafra that General Gowon had appeared to offer last week on his return from OAU summit in Ethiopia. Whatever General Gowon's actual remarks may have been on this occasion, he previously had stated that Nigeria would participate in peace talks without conditions, but would accept an agreement only within framework of one Nigeria. To have this flexible position shot down by his own Commissioner for Information will raise again question of who really speaks for Nigeria. UNQTE

END

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classification approved by:

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FORM DS-322
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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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Origin	ACTION:	Amembassy, GENEVA	PRIORITY
		Amembassy, LAGOS	PRIORITY
Info	INFO	Amembassy, LONDON	PRIORITY
		Amembassy, PARIS	PRIORITY
		Amembassy, ADDIS ABABA	PRIORITY
		USUN	PRIORITY
		Amembassy, COTONOU	PRIORITY

1. We are keenly disappointed over Biafran rejection ICRC emergency airlift proposal. While a prompt ICRC demonstration flight to Uli would lay blame more dramatically on Owerri leadership if rejected (if not previously called down by FMG), we believe this is decision ICRC should make on its own. FMG action in signing agreement with ICRC on September 13 followed by Biafran rejection fairly convincing in placing onus on Biafrans.

2. We agree that responsibility for obstruction daylight flights, if such obstruction continues, should be clearly established but for present our objective remains to work for ICRC proposal as most practicable and reasonable means of meeting the food needs in Biafra. So long as there is any hope of obtaining at least Biafran acquiescence in ICRC proposal, we hope ICRC can be encouraged to continue its efforts with Biafrans and to avoid

Drafted by: AF?CRM Moore:dl 9/15/69 22446 Telegraphic transmission and AF - Mr. Newsom
classification approved by:
Clearances: AF/SN - Mr. Sherry U/CF - Mr. Ferguson
S/PC - Mr. Ruser S/S - Mr. Gleysteen

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy, GENEVA, LAGOS LONDON

PARIS ADDIS ABABA USUN COTONOU

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any precipitate decision to abandon daylight flight proposal.

3. Only pressure of public and government opinion in countries that matter to Biafrans or intervention of those having influence on them likely to lead them to change position. You may inform ICRC that we urging those elements in US who are favorably known to Biafrans to press for reconsideration of Biafran decision. We will also be in touch ourselves with Biafrans and with other interested governments.
are probing
(FYI We/~~plan probe~~ with Canadians possible role as suggested Lagos 8317
END FYI).

4. While moving ahead in this direction, our public pronouncements during next few days will reflect our concern and deep regret over Biafran failure to date to accept ICRC proposal and our fervent hope that it will do so soonest. Should it be clear that no further progress is possible and that all feasible steps to win acceptance have failed, a public statement placing onus for failure would be made.

END

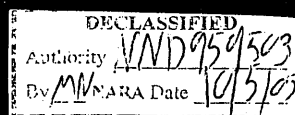
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CONTINUATION SHEET

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TELEGRAM

Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria

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ACTION COPY

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ACTION: SS 30

INFO: OCT 01/031 W

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R 161746Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2387

SECRET ROME 5903

EXDIS

DEPT PASS USMISSION GENEVA

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

REF: STATE 144038, STATE 152748, ROME 5499, ROME 5252 NOTAL,
ROME 5061 NOTAL

1. IN COURSE DISCUSSION OTHER SUBJECTS WITH ARCHBISHOP CASAROLI (SECRETARY VATICAN COUNCIL FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS) SEPTEMBER 15 CHARGE INQUIRED WHETHER VATICAN HAD BEEN ABLE OBTAIN EXPLANATION OF DIVERGENCIES BETWEEN BIAFRAN POSITION AS EXPRESSED AT KAMPALA AND POSITIONS AS EXPRESSED BEFORE KAMPALA (APPARENTLY TO CASAROLI HIMSELF AND NOT TO MONSIGNOR BAYER).

2. CASAROLI SAID BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVES HAD BEEN IN ROME RECENTLY AND THAT THEIR POSITION WAS AS HAD BEEN UNDERSTOOD BEFORE KAMPALA MEETING. CASAROLI SAID THESE REPS HAD EXPLAINED THAT BIAFRAN REPS AT KAMPALA HAD NOT BEEN MADE PRIVY TO "SECRET" BIAFRAN POSITION. CASAROLI DID NOT DISCLOSE DETAILS OF BIAFRAN POSITIONS NOR INDICATE NATURE OF DIFFERENCES.

3. VATICAN HAD NOT YET HEARD FROM NIGERIANS WHETHER FMG IS INTERESTED IN DISCUSSIONS AT VATICAN AS HAD BEEN INDICATION IN MID-AUGUST (ROME 5252). CASAROLI WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT ANYTHING WOULD DEVELOP HERE.

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Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria

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PAGE 02 ROME 05903 161842Z

4. VATICAN HAD APPROVED MESSAGE TO VATICAN
OBSERVER IN GENEVA ON SEPTEMBER 14 INSTRUCTING
HIM TO MAKE "SUBTLE" APPROACH TO OBI URGING
BIAFRANS ACCEPT ICRC AIRLIFT (STATE 152748).
CASAROLI SAID HE DID NOT NOW KNOW WHETHER
MESSAGE HAD ACTUALLY BEEN SENT PRIOR TO REPORT
THAT BIAFRANS HAD REJECTED AGREEMENT. GP-1.
STABLER

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PAGE 01 OTTAWA 01336 170029Z

89
ACTION EUR 22

INFO OCT 01 AF 12 RSR 01 CIAE 00 DODE 00 JPM 04 H 02 INR 07 L 03
NSAE 00 NSC 10 03 RSC 01 PRS 01 SS 20 USIA 12 E 15 DOT 12
UCF 05 SCSE 00 SCA 01 IO 13 SR 01 ORM 03 AID 28 177 W
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R 162249Z SSP 69
FM AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5164
INFO /AMEMBASSY LAGOS 48
AMEMBASSY LONDON

UNCLAS OTTAWA 1336

SUBJ: U FONSEC STEWART PRESS CONFERENCE: NIGERIA - BIAFRA
REF: OTTAWA 1331

1. STEWART STATED UK POSITION ON NIGERIAN CIVIL
WAR AND COMMENTED ON CURRENT EFFORT TO RESUME
DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS TO BIAFRA. RELEVANT
EXCERPTS FROM STEWART'S REMARKS FOLLOW.

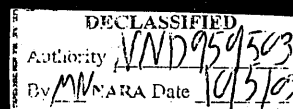
2. QUOTE ... THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT BELIEVES, THE
NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT WAS RIGHT TO RESIST THE SECESSION.
IN THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES, BELIEVING THAT, IT WOULD HAVE
BEEN WRONG FOR US TO CUT OFF THE SUPPLY OF ARMS TO
NIGERIA. IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN THE EASY WAY OUT ... A
SORT OF PONTIUS PILATE WAY OF WASHING YOUR HANDS OF
IT. IT WOULD HAVE MEANT IN EFFECT MAKING OURSELVES
ACCESSORY TO THE DOCTRINE OF TRIBAL SECESSION
AND FRAGMENTATION OF AFRICA. AND I BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD
HAVE BEEN DEEPLY WRONG TO DO SO. THE OTHER ELEMENT
OF OUR POLICY, MUST BE AND HAS BEEN, TO TRY AND
MITIGATE THE HORRORS OF WAR AND I THINK WE HAVE PLAYED
OUR FAIR PART, IN REACHING AN AGREEMENT, IN PROMOTING
THE AGREEMENT THAT'S BEEN REACHED BETWEEN THE RED CROSS
AND THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT. AND IF OJUKWU TURNS
THAT DOWN IT WILL BE A VERY GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY ON

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*Ottawa 1336
9/16/69*

0721



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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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UNCLASSIFIED 691

PAGE 01 STOCKH 02736 161327Z

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ACTION: AFI 18

INFO OCT 01, EURI 17, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, SR 01, ORM 03, SCSE 00, SCA 01,

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P R 161240Z SEPI 69
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO USINFO WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 4160

UNCLAS STOCKHOLM 2736

SUBJECT: "CURRENT REACTION"

REF: STATE 153799

1. SVENSKA DAGBLADET (CONSERVATIVE) EDITORIAL "BIAFRA'S NO" COMMENTS:

2. THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS WITH ENDLESS PATIENCE HAS SUCCEEDED IN GETTING NIGERIA TO GO ALONG WITH THE RESUMPTION OF AIR AID SHIPMENTS DURING A THREE WEEKS TRIAL PERIOD. THERE WAS ALSO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THERE WAS SUCH GOOD CONTACT WITH BIAFRA THAT NO DIFFICULTIES SHOULD ARISE IN THAT QUARTER. BUT NOW BIAFRA LEADER OJUKWU HAS SAID NO EVEN TO A TRIAL PERIOD, BECAUSE - IT IS SAID - THE RED CROSS CANNOT GUARANTEE AGAINST AN EFFORT ON THE PART OF NIGERIA TO USE THE FLIGHTS FOR MILITARY ENDS. THIS ANNOUNCEMENT IS ONE OF THE MOST DISCOURAGING TO EMERGE FROM THE ENTIRE CONFLICT.

3. THE STAND TAKEN BY BIAFRA IS INTENDED TO RESTORE BALANCE IN JUDGING THE HUMANITARIAN ASPECT OF THE CONTENDING PARTIES' POLICIES. IT HAS BEEN EASY, ALL TOO EASY TO CONDEMN NIGERIA'S STAND TO THE ADVANTAGE OF BIAFRA. THE TRAGEDY WHICH HAS BEFALLEN THE LATTER COUNTRY HAS ADDRESSED ITSELF TO THE FEELINGS OF WORLD OPINION IN AN INCOMPARABLY MORE POWERFUL MANNER THAN ANY OF THE OTHER SIDES' ARGUMENTS. SOME TIME AGO,

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POL 27-9 Nigeria - Biafra

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PAGE: 02 STOCKH: 02736 161327Z

LEADING NIGERIANS STATED THAT STARVATION HAS BEEN EMPLOYED AS A RECOGNIZED FORM OF WARFARE FROM OLDEN TIMES. BUT IT SHOULD BE RECALLED THAT BIAFRA HAS ALSO EXPLOITED STARVATION, IF IN THE OPPOSITE WAY. OJUKWU HAS COLDLY CALCULATED THAT THE THREATENED HUNGER CATASTROPHE WOULD MAKE OTHER COUNTRIES INCREASE PRESSURE ON NIGERIA SO THAT THAT COUNTRY WOULD BE FORCED TO CURTAIL THE WAR. BIAFRA OPPOSITION TO DAYTIME HELF FLIGHTS HAS HAD OTHER MILITARY MOTIVATIONS THAN THOSE OFFICIALLY GIVEN. THEY HAVE BEEN DICTATED BY THE DESIRE TO GET PLANE LOADS OF WEAPONS ALTERNATING WITH TRANSPORTS OF FOOD AND MEDICINE.

4. AID SHIPMENTS DURING A BRIEF TRIAL PERIOD WOULD NOT, OF COURSE, HAVE AFFECTED THE MILITARY SITUATION ENOUGH TO MENTION EVEN IF THERE HAD BEEN AN OCCASIONAL ATTEMPT BY NIGERIA TO MISUSE THEM. BIAFRA'S NO WILL COME TO MEAN DEATH FOR EVEN MORE THOUSANDS OF THE COUNTRY'S CHILDREN. IF THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH BIAFRA REQUESTED BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE SWEDISH RED CROSS DO NOT YIELD QUICK RESULTS, OJUKWU WILL ASSUME AN ENORMOUS RESPONSIBILITY.

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CONFIDENTIAL 982

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03326 161625Z

45
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, USIE 00, /071 W
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P R 161555Z SEP 69
FMI USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2973
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3326

LIMDIS

SUBJECT NIGERIA/JCA

STATE FOR AMB. FERGUSON

1. CHENARD/JCA (PROTECT) TELLS US THAT GENERAL BERG MET WITH EDDIE ENAHORO IN ISTANBUL LAST WEEK. AFTER SOME JOSHING ABOUT JCA HAVING BEEN LEFT ALONE DUE TO FMG'S PREOCCUPATION WITH ICRC, SUBJECT TURNED TO JCA FLIGHTS. ENAHORO INDICATED THAT FMG WAS WILLING DISCUSS PLACING JCA FLIGHTS ON DAYLIGHT BASIS "THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS." IN REPLY TO QUESTION, HE DEFINED PHRASE BY RULING OUT DIRECT TALKS WITH JCA OR WITH SWEDISH GOVERNMENT OR ANY OTHER NORDIC GOVERNMENT RE THIS SUBJECT. HOWEVER, HE THOUGHT THAT USG, DUTCH, OR CANADIANS WOULD REPRESENT SUITABLE "DIPLOMATIC CHANNEL" FOR DAYLIGHT FLIGHT DISCUSSIONS.

2. CHENARD INDICATED THAT JCA WAS ANXIOUS "LEGALIZE THE FLIGHTS" AS FMG SOONER OR LATER WOULD ACQUIRE NIGHT FIGHTER CAPABILITY. ALTHOUGH JCA HIT NEW PEAK AUGUST 13 WITH 213 TONS, FLIGHTS HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT DUE STEPUP ATTACKS ON ULT.

3. RE TALKS (PARA 1.) HE WAS UNINFORMED WHAT "DIPLOMATIC CHANNEL" JCA MAY TRY USE AND THOUGHT IT WOULD TAKE ABOUT TEN DAYS BEFORE SOMETHING COULD GET STARTED.

4. COMMENT: CHENARD, OF COURSE, IS AWARE THAT BIAFRANS VERY LIKELY WILL OBJECT TO DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS AND SOUNDED CONCERNED

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Geneva 3326
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PAGE 02: GENEVA 03326 161625Z

ABOUT POSSIBLE DILEMMA FACING JCA.
BASSINI

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, SR 01, ORM 03, SCSE 00,

SCA 01, AID 28, UCF 05, UPW 01, RSR 01, /140 W

028702

R 161545Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9014
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BATHURST
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
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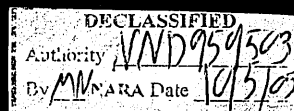
SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP SEPTEMBER 16

1. RELIEF: BIAFRAN REJECTION OF DAYLIGHT RELIEF
FLIGHTS HEADLINED BY MOST PAPERS. COMEXTAFF ARIKPO IN
RADIO BROADCAST SEPT 15 DENOUNCED QTE CALLOUS INDIFFERENCE
UNQTE AND QTE CRIMINAL NEGLECT UNQTE OF REBEL LEADERSHIP
IN REJECTING FLIGHTS. STATED THAT REJECTION SHOWED REBEL
LEADERSHIP'S INTENTION WAS QTE NOT RPT NOT PRESERVATION
OF LIVES AND PROPERTIES OF IBO PEOPLE BUT RATHER DETERMINA-
TION TO ACHIEVE POLITICAL AIM AT WHATEVER COST UNQTE. POST
REPORTS BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE SPOKESMAN'S STATEMENT
EXPRESSING DISAPPOINTMENT AT REFUSAL OF REBELS TO
ACCEPT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS AND CALLING REJECTION QTE

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08354 161839Z

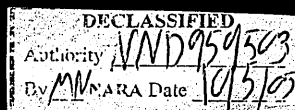
UNREASONABLE UNQTE. POST, SKETCH AND TRIBUNE ALL CARRY EDITORIALS DENOUNCING BIAFRAN REJECTION OF AGREEMENT AS ANOTHER DEMONSTRATION THAT IT IS OJUKWU WHO IS REALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR QTE STARVATION OF INNOCENTS UNQTE AND GUILTY OF GENOCIDE. TRIBUNE EDITORIAL BITTERLY SAYS THAT NOW REBELS HAVE REJECTED THIS AGREEMENT AND JUDGING QTE FROM PAST PERFORMANCES UNQTE ICRC CAN BE EXPECTED TO PUT MORE PRESSURE ON FMG TO GIVE EVEN MORE CONCESSIONS THAN IT ALREADY HAS IN ORDER TO PLEASE REBELS, DEMANDING NIGHT FLIGHTS ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS. OPINES THAT IF FMG QTE ENJOYS BEING TAKEN FOR RIDE UNQTE IT WILL YIELD TO FURTHER DEMANDS, BUT IF IT QTE SUFFICIENTLY ALIVE TO ITS RESPONSIBILITIES UNQTE, IT WILL STAND FIRM AND REFUSE ANY AGREEMENT WHICH WILL PROLONG WAR. CHARGES OJUKWU QTE CANNOT AFFORD TO HAVE NO STARVATION AND MISERY IN HIS KINGDOM UNQTE BECAUSE THIS IS GRIST FOR PROPAGANDA MILL GENERATING FOREIGN SYMPATHY AND WITHOUT THIS SYMPATHY IT WOULD BE SEEN HE FIGHTING QTE SENSELESS WAR UNQTE. EXPRESS CARRIES REPORT THAT UCA HAS FLOWN 3,500 FLIGHTS INTO ENCLAVE SO FAR.

2. PAPERS ANNOUNCE ARRIVAL SEPT 16 OF PM OF THE GAMBIA SIR DAUDA JAWARA AND WIFE FOR THREE-DAY VISIT ENROUTE FROM ADDIS TO BATHURST. EXPECTED TO HOLD DISCUSSIONS WITH GOWON AND OTHER FMG OFFICIALS.

3. ZIK" NEW NIGERIAN REPORTS THAT IN KANO ZIK SAID REBELS HAD KILLED NUMBER OF ONITSHA IBO CHIEFS AND PEOPLE DURING FEDERAL SEIGE OF CITY ACCUSING THEM OF CONSPIRING WITH FEDERAL TROOPS. NEW NIGERIAN ALSO QUOTES QTE SOURCE CLOSE TO FORMER PRESIDENT UNQTE AS REVEALING FIVE TOP REBEL LEADERS INCLUDING MBANEFO, ORIZU AND KOJEKWU HAD QTE DESERTED REBEL CAMP AND WOULD BE RETURNING TO NIGERIA ANY TIME WITHIN WEEK UNQTE. IN IBADAN ZIK REITERATED EARLIER STATEMENT THAT ANY MEANINGFUL PEACE MUST BE BASED ON UNITY OF NIGERIA AND THAT NO UNDERSTANDING SHOULD BE REACHED WITH OJUKWU WITHOUT HIS RENOUNCING SECESSION FIRST. ALSO STATED THAT NEW CONSTITUTION SHOULD HAVE ENTRENCHED CLAUSE PREVENTING SECESSION AND ADVOCATED STRONG RATHER THAN LOOSE FEDERATION. TRIBUNE REPORTS THAT ZIK QTE GAVE HINT UNQTE HE WOULD SOON UNDERTAKE TOUR OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES RECOGNIZING BIAFRA IN ORDER TO APPRAISE THEM OF QTE TRUE POSITION OF THINGS UNQTE AND STATED THAT THEY HAD

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 08354 161839Z.

RECOGNIZED REBELS AS RESULT OF PROPAGANDA ABOUT RENOCIDE
RATHER THAN OUT OF DESIRE TO BREAK UP NIGERIA.
OLSON

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Authority	VND959503
By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05

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Department of State

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Xr POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 ISTANB 01411 161039Z

14
ACTION AF 18

INFO DCT 01, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04,

SCA 01, AID 28, CIAE 00, INR 07, NSAE 00, RBC 01, RSR 01, DODE 00, LI 03

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R 161015Z SEP 69
FM AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1709
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ISTANBUL 1411

ICRC COMPLETED ITS BUSINESS SEPTEMBER 13 AND ALL DELEGATES
HAVE DEPARTED ISTANBUL. HOWEVER WE CONTINUE TO BE INCLUDED
ON DISTRIBUTION OF TELEGRAMS REGARDING NEGOTIATIONS FOR
RESUMPTION OF FLIGHTS TO NIGERIA. WHILE WE HAVE FOLLOWED
THESE MESSAGES WITH INTEREST AND HOPE FOR SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME
RECOMMEND IN INTEREST OF ECONOMY WE BE DELETED AS INFO
ADDRESSEE UNLESS THERE IS SOMETHING WE CAN DO HERE.
HECK

(2)

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Authority VND 959503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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15 SEP 69 21 28Z

Origin
Info:

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

INFO: Amembassy LONDON
PARIS
US MISSION GENEVA
Amconsul IBADAN
KADUNA

SUBJECT: ICRC Daylight Flight Plan

Following is text statement read by Department Spokesman at press briefing
September 15:

QTE The USG was pleased and supported the action by the FMG in
Nigeria in initialing the ICRC plan for daylight flights this last weekend.
It was, and is, still, our opinion that the plan would contribute significantly
to meeting the food and medical needs of the civilian victims of the conflict
located within the Biafran-held enclave.

We're disturbed by current press reports that the Biafran authorities
have now rejected the plan. As yet, we have no direct confirmation of the
reported rejection of these daylight relief flights, but should the report
or reports prove to be accurate and confirmed, the USG would naturally
regret such a development.

We are awaiting more formal and official word from the ICRC, which we
understand may issue a statement shortly. UNQTE

ROGERS

END

Drafted by:

AF/P:WCF:well:mb 9/15/69

Tel. Ext.

20322

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

AF/SN - Mr. Sherry

Clearances:

S/PRS - Mr. McGloskey (subs)

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FORM DS-322
8-65

0732

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By: MVA Date: 10/15/05

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TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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35B
NE DEF 12-5 BIAFRA
15 SEP 69 1948z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LIBREVILLE

INFO: US Mission GENEVA

STATE

SUBJECT: Biafra Arms Airlift

REF: Libreville 938 -POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

1. Information available to UCF indicates only relief aircraft operating from Libreville are on Charter to French Red Cross and Operation Africa concern. French Red Cross may increase number relief flights. We have no information of other relief organized flying from Libreville.

2. Please info Geneva future airlift reports.

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:RADavidson:bjm
DRAFTING DATE: 9/13/69
TEL. EXT.: 29624
APPROVED BY: Ambassador Ferguson
U/CF - ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
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FORM FS-413
4-68

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Authority: VND 954503
By: MWA Date: 10/5/05



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State
TELEGRAM
TR POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08318 152043Z

87

ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DDE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28,

ACDA 16, E 15, SR 01, ORM 03, SCSE 00, SCA 01, SSR 01, 171 M
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R 151655Z SEP 69
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INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
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AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
USMISSION GENEVA
RUEHDT/USUN NEW YORK 1196
USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS LAGOS 8318 SECTION 1 OF 2

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP SEPTEMBER 14 AND 15

1. PEACE TALKS: SEPT 14 PAPERS REPORT COMINFO ENAHORO PRESS
CONFERENCE SEPT 13 IN WHICH HE SAID SECESSIONISTS HAD
MADE CONFLICTING STATEMENTS IN GENEVA AND IN OHERRI ON PEACE
TALKS. TOLD PRESS THAT OUKWUQTEI WELL-AWARE OF CHANNELS
AND FORM OF ACCEPTANCE OF TERMS ARRANGED AT ADDIS... IT
IS UP TO HIM TO USE THEM IF HE MEANS SERIOUS BUSINESS. UNOTE
RESTATE THAT PEACE TALKS COULD ONLY TAKE PLACE WITHIN
CONTEXT OF UNITY OF NIGERIA AS CONTAINED IN OAU RESOLU-
TION AT ADDIS. SEPT 15 POST REPORTS COMEXTAFF/ARIKPO STATED
IN LAGOS TV INTERVIEW EVENING SEPT 14 THAT CESSATION OF

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Authority VND 959503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE: 01 GENEVA 03306 151914Z

43
ACTION: SS 70

INFO: OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, /071 W
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O P 151830Z SEP 69 ZFFA
FM: USMISSION GENEVA
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2948
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
INFO: AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3306

LIMDIS:

SUBJECT NIGERIA/ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REFERENCE 1) GENEVA 3275 2) GENEVA 3290 3) GENEVA 3295
4) GENEVA 3296 5) GENEVA 3297

STATE FOR UN/CF

1. SUMMARY CONTRARY TO EARLIER STATEMENTS ICRC DOES NOT EXPECT TO MAKE PROMPT DEMONSTRATION FLIGHT TO ULI AND, IN FACT, MAY DECIDE ABANDON ALTOGETHER IDEA OF FLYING IN FACE OF BIAFRA'S REJECTION OF DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSAL.

2. LENGTHY DISORGANIZED, MEANDERING MEETING STARTED WITH REVIEW BY BASSET OF SITUATION, POSSIBLE SEQUENCE NEXT STEPS (SEE REF 3) WITH EMPHASIS ON FACT THAT HE HAD NOT REPEAT NOT YET BEEN IN TOUCH WITH HIS PRINCIPALS.

3. HALF WAY THROUGH MEETING BASSET LEFT TO TAKE CALL FROM FREYMOND. LATTER HAD STATED AS FOLLOWS:

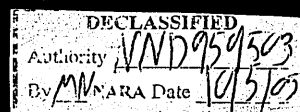
1. A) HE CONSIDERED IT RISKY FOR FUTURE OF WHOLE OPERATION TO FORCE BIAFRAN INTERDICTION. BASSET COMMENTED THAT THIS WAS

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Geneva 3306
9-15-69

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03306 151914Z

CONTRARY TO EXCHANGES HE HAD HAD PREVIOUSLY WITH FREYMOND.

B) FREYMOND THOUGHT EXPRESSION BY GOVERNMENTS OF CONCERN AND REGRET OVER BIAFRAN REJECTION WOULD BE USEFUL.

C) HE INSTRUCTED BASSET TO RECONTACT OBI TO MAKE SURE "GUARANTEES" IN FORM OF VARIOUS STATEMENTS MADE BY GOVERNMENTS WERE COMPLETELY UNDERSTOOD BY BIAFRANS.

D) BASSET IS TO COMMUNICATE TO PRESS INFORMALLY ICRC FEELING OF REGRET OVER BIAFRAN POSITION.

E) FREYMOND HAD COMMENTED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD BIAFRAN CONCERN RE SECURITY OF ULI ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT RECENT ATTACKS. LOSS OF ULI WOULD BE CATASTROPHIC IN CASE OF PEACE TALKS.

4. IN REPLY TO AMBASSADOR TUBBY'S QUESTION, BASSET SUMMED UP THAT THERE WOULD BE NO TEST FLIGHTS AT THIS TIME AT LEAST "UNTIL OTHER INSTRUCTIONS ARE RECEIVED FROM FREYMOND WHO IN CHARGE OF OPERATION" OR FROM ICRC COMMITTEE WHICH, HOWEVER, IS PRESENTLY UNABLE FIELD QUORUM. THUS, BASSET'S NEXT STEP WILL BE PREPARATION OF STATEMENT FOR USE BY PRESS. HOWEVER, PRIOR RELEASE HE WILL DISCUSS STATEMENT WITH OBI TAKING UP POINTS MADE BY BIAFRANS (SEE REFTELS 4 AND 5), GO OVER HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS, ETC., DETERMINE WHETHER BIAFRAN REPLY CONSTITUTES FINAL REJECTION, AND FINALLY TRY DETERMINE WHETHER BIAFRANS PREFER "NO FLIGHTS AT ALL TO POLITICAL-MILITARY GUARANTEES THAT ARE IMPOSSIBLE (SIC)."

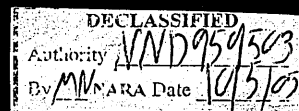
5. BASSET STATED THAT ICRC DECISION RE NEXT MOVE MUST CONSIDER SAFETY OF ITS TEAMS IN BIAFRA AS THEY MAY BECOME "HOSTAGES," ALSO SECURITY OF PLANES AND CREWS IN CASE OF BEING SHOT DOWN, CRASH OR EMERGENCY LANDING MUST BE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED. THIS, OF COURSE, REQUIRED CONTINUED SUPPORT BY THE VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS. ONE REP OBSERVED THAT THE VARIOUS STATEMENTS ALREADY EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THE OPERATION AND SPECIFICALLY ASKED BOTH GOVERNMENTS TO ABSTAIN FROM INTERFERING WITH THE OPERATION.

6. OTHER POINTS OF INTEREST:

A) NORWAY WILL ISSUE STATEMENT EXPRESSING REGRETS AT BIAFRAN

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 03306 151914Z

REJECTION.

B) VATICAN REPRESENTATIVE READ HOLY SEE'S STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR ICRC OPERATION (BY SEPTEL WHEN OBTAINED) AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT BIAFRAN REJECTION NOT DEFINITIVE.

C) SEVERAL OTHER REPS REPORTED ON THEIR GOVERNMENTS' STATEMENTS AND TELEPHONE DISCUSSIONS WITH OBI. BELGIAN AMBASSADOR MENTIONED OBI EMPHASIZED DIFFICULTIES POSED BY BIAFRAN SOLDIERS WHO HAVE BEEN TRAINED SHOOT AT ANY AIRCRAFT AND MAY BE UNABLE DISTINGUISH BETWEEN RELIEF AND OTHER CRAFTS.

7. COMMENTS: A) FREYMOND'S 180 DEGREE REVERSAL (REF 1, PARA 7) CAME AS A COMPLETE SURPRISE TO ALL, ESPECIALLY TO BASSET AND JAGGI (WHO EXPRESSED HIMSELF AFTER MEETING IN TERMS THAT IN SOME CIRCLES MIGHT BE CONSIDERED UNREFINED).

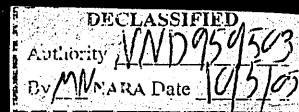
B) WE BELIEVE DEPARTMENT SHOULD DETERMINE WHETHER ICRC DEMONSTRATION FLIGHT (WITH LIKELY REJECTION AT ULI) WOULD BE IN INTEREST USG. ARGUMENT CAN BE MADE THAT WITHOUT SUCH FLIGHT BIAFRANS WILL ALWAYS CONTEND LAGOS HAD NO REPEAT NO INTENTION IMPLEMENT AGREEMENT AND WOULD HAVE SABOTAGED OPERATION BY CALLING DOWN EVERY PLANE. IF, HOWEVER, LAGOS WILLING LET FIRST DEMONSTRATION FLIGHT(S) PROCEED DIRECTLY TO ULI, BIAFRAN REJECTION WOULD CLEARLY LAY BLAME ON OWERRI LEADERSHIP AND BE MAJOR PROPAGANDA VICTORY FOR LAGOS.

C) IF DEPARTMENT BELIEVES ICRC SHOULD MAKE TEST FLIGHT, WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT FREYMOND APPEARS WANT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS AS LITTLE AS DO BIAFRANS. THUS FLIGHT DECISION MAY HAVE TO BE FINESSED THROUGH NAVILLE. IN THIS CONNECTION TIME SEEMS OF ESSENCE SINCE CONSERVATIVE COMPLEXION FULL COMMITTEE (WHICH PROBABLY COULD BE CONVOKED WITHIN FOUR OR FIVE DAYS) MIGHT WELL DECIDE AGAINST TEST FLIGHT AND SETTLE FOR STATEMENT OR WHITE PAPER. COMMITTEE MAY WELL FEEL CASE NOW SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR RE BIAFRAN NEGATIVE POSITION, WITHOUT NEED TO TAKE RISKS INVOLVED IN FLIGHTS.

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA NIGERIA
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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03297 151452Z

52
ACTION: SS: 70

INFO: OCT 01, SSO: 00, NSCE: 00, USIE: 00, CIAE: 00, CCO: 00, 1071 W
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O: 151425Z SEP 69 ZFF64
FM: USMISSION GENEVA
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2941
INFO: AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE: GENEVA 3297

LIMDIS:

SUBJECT: NIGERIA

STATE FOR: U/CFI

1. FOLLOWING IS: TELEX FROM OBI (FRANKFURT) TO BASSET DATED SEPTEMBER
14. P. 10. 10. 8

QUOTE: I HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED BY MY GOVERNMENT TO INFORM YOU THAT THE
AGREEMENT YOU HAVE REACHED WITH NIGERIA IS IN SOME RESPECTS
FUNDAMENTALLY AT VARIANCE WITH YOUR EARLIER AGREEMENT
WITH US. THE REPORTED SECURITY

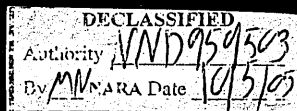
GUARANTEE BY GOVERNMENTS IS NOT ONLY VAGUE AND INADEQUATE BUT HAS
BEEN NULLIFIED BY ARTICLE 6(2) WHICH PROVIDES THAT "THIS AGREEMENT
SHALL BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO MILITARY OPERATIONS BY THE FEDERAL
MILITARY GOVERNMENT" AT THE SAME TIME ON THE OPERATION ROUTE THIS
UNDERMINES BASIS OF WHOLE UNDERSTANDING ON DAYLIGHT RELIEF
AND UNDERLINES THE NECESSITY FOR EFFECTIVE THIRD PARTY AND
GOVERNMENT SECURITY GUARANTEES AGAINST ABUSE
BY LAGOS. END QUOTE.

(1) TUBBY

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9-15-69

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L I M D I S
I N C O M I N G

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MilRep		
Digest		
Task Force		
Principals and "S" Area		
ES <i>16</i>	CU	TRSY <i>6</i>
S	E <i>2</i>	FRB
U	H	EXIM
J	INR <i>6</i>	BOB
D	IO <i>4</i>	CEA
C	L <i>2</i>	COM <i>2</i>
S/PC <i>2</i>	O <i>3</i>	STR
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 917

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03295 151420Z

53
ACTION SS: 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO: 00, SSO: 00, NSCE: 00, DODE: 00, CIAE: 00, USIE: 00, /071 W
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FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2939
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3295

LIMDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIA/ICRC

REF: (1) GENEVA 3275; (WL) GENEVA 3290; (3) GENEVA 3296
(4) GENEVA 3297

1. WE CALLED ON BASSET THIS A.M. TO FIND OUT HOW ICRC INTENDS
PROCEED AFTER BIAFRAN REJECTION.

2. BASSET IS CALLING MEETING OF LUNS GROUP FOR 1500 TODAY. HE
INTENDS INFORM REPS OF FMG AND BIAFRAN REPLIES. HE WILL REQUEST
REPS' REACTION TO BIAFRAN REQUEST FOR THIRD PARTY GUARANTEES.
BASSET EXPECTS REPS TO STATE THAT THEIR GOVERNMENTS NOT REPEAT
NOT PREPARED GO BEYOND STATEMENTS MADE. HE FEELS, HOWEVER, RECORD
SHOULD CLEARLY SHOW THAT ICRC HAS PLACED BIAFRAN REQUEST FOR
GUARANTEES (OF TYPE THAT ICRC ITSELF NOT QUALIFIED TO GIVE)
BEFORE THOSE WHOSE GUARANTEES WOULD SATISFY BIAFRANS.

3. ICRC INTENDS THEN PROCEED ALONG LINES INDICATED REF 1, PARA 7.
THIS MEANS ICRC WILL RELEASE COMMUNIQUE TONIGHT OR TOMORROW
SUMMARIZING BIAFRAN REPLY AND STATE THAT IN PURSUANCE OF ITS
HUMANITARIAN MANDATE AND THE EARLIER APPROVAL IN PRINCIPAL OF
ITS PROPOSAL, IT WILL DESPATCH PLANES FROM COTONOU AT X TIME TO

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*Memorandum 3295
9-15-69*

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03295 151420Z

BIAFRA TO BRING FOOD AND MEDICAL RELIEF TO THE STARVING AND SICK. (STATEMENT HAS NOT REPEAT NOT YET BEEN PREPARED.) TIMING WILL DEPEND ON CONFIRMATION THAT FMG CONTROLLER HAS ARRIVED COTONOU SO THAT TECHNICALLY FLIGHTS CAN START WITHIN TWELVE HOURS. FLIGHTS WILL TAKE OFF WITHIN LESS THAN 24 HOURS OR ICRC COMMUNIQUE. THIS IS TO FORESTALL BIAFRAN REPLY WHILE ON OTHER HAND MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR BIAFRANS CLAIM THEY HAD NOT BEEN INFORMED OF FLIGHTS.

4. BASSET CONSIDERS IT VITAL THAT FLIGHTS DO NOT REPEAT NOT ARRIVE UNANNOUNCED OVER ULI IN ORDER AVOID "PROVOKING BIAFRANS." HE IS FEARFUL THAT "PROVOCATION" COULD LEAD TO "COMPLETE RUPTURE" OF ICRC-BIAFRAN RELATIONS AND TERMINATION ICRC ACTIVITIES AND TEAMS IN ENCLAVE.

5. BASSET HAD NOT YET BEEN IN TOUCH WITH FREYMOND BUT WAS HOPEFULLY WAITING FOR A CALL FROM HIM. IN ANSWER TO QUESTION HE REPLIED THAT NAVILLE UNAVAILABLE AS HE WAS CURRENTLY IN SAUDI ARABIA. WE OFFERED COMMUNICATIONS CHANNEL TO JIDDA. HOWEVER, BASSET THOUGHT THAT NAVILLE IS "LACKING THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF THE SITUATION" AND HE WOULD THEREFORE PREFER MAKE CONTACT WITH FREYMOND WHO "HAD ALL ELEMENTS AT HIS FINGER TIPS."

6. COMMENT: BASSET WAS DEPRESSED, CONFUSED AND OBVIOUSLY TERRIFIED OVER CONCEIVABLY HAVING TO TAKE FINAL RESPONSIBILITY OF SENDING ICRC PLANES OVER HOSTILE ULI. BELIEVE HE IS TRYING TO DOUBLE CHECK WITH ICRC COMMITTEE MEMBERS HE CAN REACH. AT THIS AFTERNOON'S MEETING WE EXPECT STATE THAT SECRETARY'S STATEMENT REFLECTS US POSITION. IF ASKED RE ADVISABILITY FLIGHTS, WE WILL REPLY THAT THIS MUST BE ICRC OWN DECISION. IF DEPARTMENT BELIEVES USEFUL KEEP NAVILLE INFORMED. AMEMBASSY JIDDA COULD BE INSTRUCTED GIVE HIM SYNOPSIS POST-ISTANBUL DEVELOPMENTS. THIS, HOWEVER, SHOULD BE DONE IN FORM NEWS ITEM INVOLVING ICRC RATHER THAN SPECIFIC APPROACH IN VIEW FREYMOND/BASSET INTENTION KEEP HIM UNINFORMED (AND NAVILLE'S APPARENT WILLINGNESS REMAIN UNINFORMED AT THIS CRUCIAL JUNCTURE).
TUBBY

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By	MW NARA
Date	10/3/05

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I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screener mmPOST Leuwa

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 Digest 1
 Task Force 1

Principals and
"S" Area

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 U/UCS 1

Geographic

AF 5
 ARA 9
 EA 11
 EUR 10
 NEA 8

Functional

CU 1
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 WLG 1
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 SCA 1
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 SCI 1

Other

WH 10
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 CIA 1
 USIA 4
 PC 1

Other

ACDA 5AID 12TRSY 6FRB 1EXIM 1BOB 1CEA 1COM 2STR 1TAR 1WHRE 1AGR 3LAB 1HEW 1INT 1TRANS 1CAB 1AEC 3NASA 1JUS 1FBI 1NIC 1NSA 1File 1Burned 1

8/5/69

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☐ CHARGE TO

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TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
156387

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DISTRIBUTION	LISBON	
	ACTION:	Amembassy XXXXXX PRIORITY " ABIDJAN
	INFO:	Amembassy LAGOS " DAKAR " LIBREVILLE
	STATE	
	SUBJECT:	Biafra Arms Airlift
	REF: STATE 154371 / POL 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria XR DEF 12-5 Biafra N 7776C XR AV 1225	
	Registration number of aircraft should be XXXXXX rather than that 1, reftel.	
	given Para 1, line XXXXXX	

156387

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: E/OA/AVP:WSDiedrich:kpk	DRAFTING DATE 9/15/69	TEL. EXT. 20827	APPROVED BY: E/OA/AVP - Mr. Styles
CLEARANCES: EUR/SPP - Mr. Smith (phone) AF/W - Mr. Stokes (phone)			

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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52
ACTION: AFI 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, SSO 00, NSCE 00,
USIE 00, SR 01, ORM 03, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03,
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, AID 28, PC 04, E 15, RSR 01,
/163: W

020069

O R 151650Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8992
USMISSION GENEVA
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 8317

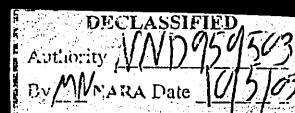
SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF: REBEL REJECTION ICRC DAYFLIGHTS

1. SUMMARY. WITH DISAPPOINTING REBEL REJECTION OF ICRC EMERGENCY DAYFLIGHT PROPOSAL, WE SEE NO RPT NO ALTERNATIVE TO FINDING WAYS INCREASE PRESSURE THROUGH PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND CHURCH GROUPS ON REBELS TO ACCEPT ICRC PROPOSAL. REASONABLE AND NIGHT FLIGHTS APT BECOME INCREASINGLY RISKIER. BASIC REBEL AIM SEEMS TO BE POLITICAL, I.E. TO ACQUIRE RECOGNITION OF SORT-- AND AT SAME TIME PLACE FMG IN LIGHT OF A SUSPECT-- THROUGH INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES. UNTIL THEY CONVINCED THEIR ATTITUDES ONLY LEAD TO DIMINISHED SUPPORT, WE DOUBT REBELS ACCEPT DAYFLIGHTS. WE CAN SEE NO RPT NO CONCESSIONS TO WHICH FMG BE WILLING TO AGREE ASIDE FROM POSSIBLE ACCEPTANCE OF NEUTRAL OBSERVER-- PERHAPS CANADIANS-- ABOARD FLIGHTS INTO ULI. BELIEVE WE HAVE NO RPT NO LEVERAGE LEFT ON THIS ISSUE WITH FMG AND CRITICAL POST EDITORIAL THIS MORNING PROBABLY REFLECTS GON VIEW. (SEE SEPTEL)

2. ON RECEIPT REFTEL WE GAVE SUBSTANCE, PARTICULARLY FOUR POINTS PARA 1, TO BIGNAMI WHO HAD HEARD NEWSCAST REJECTION

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08317 151806Z

PROPOSAL. BIGNAMI DISTRESSED OVER THIS DEVELOPMENT AS ARE WE, BELIEVES SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT THING AT THIS JUNCTURE IS THAT ICRC REFRAIN FROM COMMENTING ON REBEL POSITION UNTIL DAY OR TWO HAS PAST IN WHICH TO SORT MATTER OUT AND HAS SENT MESSAGE THIS EFFECT. HE AGREES EFFORT TO REACH OBI (PARA FOUR REFTEL) AND FORESTALL "BIAFRANS" TAKING FORMAL POSITION HIGHLY ADVISABLE.

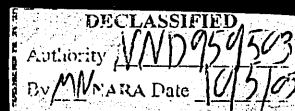
3. REACHING AGREEMENT WITH FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN PAINFUL PROCESS SAY LEAST, AND FMG WILL EXPECT ICRC TO ACT AS THEY SAID THEY WOULD, THAT IS START THE FLIGHTS, CONTINUE EFFORT FOR AWHILE EVEN THOUGH REBELS REFUSE ALLOW PLANES LAND, AND THEN MAKE CLEAR PUBLICLY WHERE ONUS FALLS. WE CONVINCED THERE NO RPT NO MORE ROOM FOR FURTHER PRESSURE ON FMG TO EFFECT CHANGES IN EMERGENCY FLIGHT PROPOSAL. THERE PROBABLY IS, HOWEVER, DAY OR TWO OF LEEWAY BEFORE ICRC WOULD NEED BEGIN EFFORT MAKE FLIGHTS INTO ULI. BIGNAMI HAS NOT RPT NOT PRESSED TO GET NIGERIAN INSPECTOR TO COTONOU OVER WEEKEND, AS HE WILL ARRIVE ONLY ON MONDAY, THIS GIVES RATIONALE FOR NOT STARTING FLIGHTS SAME DAY. PERHAPS ADDITIONAL DAY CAN BE USED UP IN "WORKING OUT ADDITIONAL DETAILS". AFTER THAT, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN TO FMG WHY FLIGHTS PLAN NOT RPT NOT INITIATED OR WHY PUBLIC AND GOVERNMENTAL ONUS NOT PUT ON "BIAFRANS".

4. WE REMAIN CONVINCED THAT WELFARE OF CHILDREN AND NEEDY IN BIAFRA DEPENDS ON ARRANGEMENT FOR LIFT OF FOOD AND MEDICINE INTO ENCLAVE WHICH HAS FMG ENDORSEMENT. DESPITE RELATIVE SAFETY RELIEF NIGHT FLIGHTS FROM MILITARY HARRASSMENT THUS FAR, WE ALSO REMAIN CONVINCED RISKS WILL RISE, REDUCING NIGHT FLIGHTS AND MAKING THEM INCREASINGLY COSTLY. ARRANGEMENTS TO WHICH FMG HAS NOW AGREED EMINENTLY REASONABLE AND, AS INDICATED ABOVE, NO RPT NO LIKELIHOOD PERSUADING FMG YIELD ANY FURTHER. REBELS "BOXED IN" AND PROBABLY FROM BEGINNING DID NOT RPT NOT WANT DAYFLIGHTS OR ANY REGULARIZED ARRANGEMENT FOR RELIEF TO WHICH FMG AGREED UNLESS THEY OBTAINED IN RETURN SOME STRONGLY COMPENSATING POLITICAL GAIN SUCH AS RECOGNITION BY THE KIND OF "INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES" THEY NOW REQUESTING.

5. TIME HAS COME, AND CURRENT SITUATION SEEMS TO US PROVIDE APPROPRIATE OCCASION, TO PUT PRESSURE ON REBELS TO ACCEPT THE

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 08317 151806Z

ICRC PROPOSAL. DEPARTMENT'S STATEMENT--AND STATEMENTS BY OTHER GOVERNMENTS--OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN WHICH WOULD ARISE IF MILITARY ADVANTAGE TAKEN BY FMG OF DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS WAS LONG STEP TOWARD SOME SORT OF GUARANTEE FOR REBELS. WE STRONGLY URGE THAT EVERY EFFORT NOW BE MADE TO LINE UP JCA AND CARITAS BEHIND ICRC PROPOSAL. SEEMS TO US BIAFRANS MUST BE TOLD THAT THEIR ARGUMENTS OF MILITARY RISK ARE UNCONVINCING AND THAT FAILURE AGREE ICRC PROPOSAL WILL RUN RISK OF LOSING INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR RELIEF EFFORT TO BIAFRANS. ARGUMENT COULD BE MADE BY CHURCHES THAT NOW THERE IS SAFE CHANNEL FOR RELIEF SUPPLIES THAT THIS SHOULD BE USED RATHER THAN RISKY NIGHT LIFT WHICH INCURS GREATER NON-MILITARY AS WELL AS INCREASING MILITARY RISKS.

6. IN EFFORT BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR, BELIEVE IMPORTANT USG MAKE STRONG PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT IT CONSIDERS PROPOSAL TO HAVE BEEN REASONABLE ONE AND THAT FULL ONUS IS ON REBELS WHO HAD LED ICRC AND WORLD TO BELIEVE THEY HAD IN FACT AGREED AND RENEGED BY IMPOSING CONDITION UNNECESSARY THEIR MILITARY SECURITY AND IMPOSSIBLE ATTAIN. POINT SHOULD BE MADE, OF COURSE, THAT ICRC PROPOSAL WAS FOR EMERGENCY 21-DAY PERIOD, NOT LONG-TERM COMMITMENT. DO NOT RPT NOT BELIEVE SUCH STATEMENT SHOULD BE ISSUED UNTIL DAY OR TWO HAS PASSED IN HOPE THAT OBI CAN BE DISSUADED FROM ISSUING FORMAL REJECTION AND THAT REBELS CAN BE PERSUADED ACCEPT. WE SEE LITTLE HOPE THIS, HOWEVER, AND CONCLUDE ONLY WAY ASSURING CONTINUED FLOW RELIEF WILL BE TO CONVINCE OJUKWU THAT FAILURE AGREE TO ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSAL WILL RESULT IN SERIOUS LOSS INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR HIS CAUSE.

7. ONE POSSIBILITY DOES OCCUR TO US WHICH COULD PROVIDE FACE SAVING IF REBELS WISH TAKE IT, THAT IS, OFFER HAVE NEUTRAL OBSERVER ABOARD ALL FLIGHTS TO ULI. CANADIANS HAVE OFTEN PROPOSED PROVIDING OBSERVERS AND THEY MIGHT BE WILLING (OR UN?) TAKE ON THIS TASK. WOULD NEED BE CLEARED WITH ICRC AND WITH FMG BEFORE PUTTING PROPOSITION FORWARD. WE SHOULD NOT RPT NOT BE INVOLVED BUT CANADIANS MIGHT BE ASKED TAKE THE LEAD AND WE ENDORSE WITH ICRC BUT STAY OUT OF MATTER WITH FMG. GP-1
OLSON

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SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, RSR 01, UCF 05, UPW 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

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O 151325Z SEP 69 ZFF6
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2940
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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SUBJ: NIGERIA

REF: GENEVA 3290

STATE FOR U/CF

1. FOLLOWING IS MARKPRESS RELEASE

QUOTE: NEW DEYLIGHT FLIGHTS PLAN UNACCEPTABLE TO BIAFRA.
NIGERIA COULD PUT IT TO MILITARY. OWERRI, BIAFRA, SEPTEMBER 14,
1969 - THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BIAFRA HAS REJECTED THE
NEW AGREEMENT SIGNED BETWEEN THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE
ICRC ON
DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS TO BIAFRA, AS IT CONTAINS NO
ADEQUATE GUARANTEE AGAINST NIGERIAN MILITARY EXPLOITATION OF
THE FLIGHTS.

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IN A PRESS STATEMENT DR. S. J. S. COONEY, COORDINATOR OF BIAFRA RELIEF AND COMMISSIONER FOR SPECIAL DUTIES HAS POINTED OUT THAT THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT NOW SIGNED BETWEEN LAGOS AND THE ICRC ARE VERY DIFFERENT IN VITALLY IMPORTANT POINTS FROM THESE OF THE AGREEMENT PRESENTED TO BOTH SIDES ON AUGUST 17 WHICH WAS ACCEPTED BY BIAFRA.

HE WENT ON: "THE HASTE OF THE ICRC IN CONCLUDING THE AGREEMENT WITHOUT REFERENCE TO BIAFRA NOTICES THE WAY IN WHICH THE ICRC

"HAS AT EVERY STAGE FAILED TO TAKE A FIRM STAND ON ANY ISSUE ADVERSELY AFFECTING THE PUBLIC IMAGE OF THE LAGOS REGIMEN"

DR. COOKEY SAID ARTICLE SIX OF THE AGREEMENT (WHICH STATES "THIS AGREEMENT SHALL BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO MILITARY OPERATION BY NIGERIA") "THREATENING THE SECURITY OF BIAFRA FOR WHICH IT HAS BEEN FIGHTING FOR MORE THAN TWO YEARS."

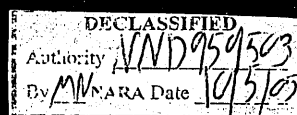
HE DECLARED: "THE GOVERNMENT OF BIAFRA, AWARE OF THE INTENTIONS OF LAGOS, CLEARLY DEMANDED A THIRD PARTY GUARANTEE WHICH WILL ENSURE THAT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS ARE NOT USED TO MILITARY ADVANTAGE BY NIGERIA. RATHER, THE ICRC HAS PROPOSED GUARANTEES WHICH ARE NOT ONLY VAGUE AND INADEQUATE BUT HAVE BEEN NULLIFIED BY THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE SIX, PARAGRAPH TWO, WHICH ENTITLES NIGERIA TO EXPLOIT DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS TO ACHIEVE MILITARY ADVANTAGE."

DR. COOKEY EMPHASIZED: "THE ONLY GUARANTEE ACCEPTABLE TO BIAFRA IS THAT OF A THIRD GOVERNMENT OR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF A POLITICAL CHARACTER." HE CONCLUDED: "THE GOVERNMENT OF THE

REPUBLIC OF BIAFRA REGRETS THAT UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT FINDS THE AGREEMENT FOR RELIEF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS UNACCEPTABLE." END QUOTE DECON UPON RECEIPT.
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ACTION: AF 18.

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 09, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, AYD 28,

UPW 01, SCSE 00, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 09, RSRI 01, 152 W
019754

PIR 151529Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8981
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
USMISSION GENEVA
USUN NEW YORK 1194

UNCLAS LAGOS 8299

SUBJECT: POST EDITORIAL ATTACKS SECSTATES STATEMENT
ON RELIEF FLIGHTS

SEPT 15 POST EDITORIAL TITLED QTE ROGERS PLAYS THE ROGUE UNQTE
ATTACKS SECSTATES STATEMENT EARLIER IN WEEK CALLING FOR
IMMEDIATE RESUMPTION OF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS AND STATING THAT
FMG AND REBELS SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO GAIN ANY MILITARY ADVANTAGE
FROM DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS. CALLS STATEMENT QTE SUBTLE ATTEMPT
AT DISCREDITING NIGERIA UNQTE BECAUSE IT IGNORES FACT THAT
FMG WAS ORIGINATOR OF DAYLIGHT FLIGHT SUGGESTION IN ORDER TO STOP
REBEL USE OF NIGHT FLIGHTS AS COVER FOR ARMS FLIGHTS. ASKS WHY
SECSTATE DID NOT RECOGNIZE THIS AND CONDEMN REBELS' FAILURE
TO ACCEPT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS AND WHY QTE HE SILENT ON
UNEQUALLED AND UNPRECEDENTED MAGNANIMITY OF FMG IN ALLOWING
MERCY FLIGHTS INTO REBEL TERRITORY AT ALL UNQTE SINCE UNDER
GENEVA CONVENTIONS FMG HAD RIGHT TO BAN ALL FLIGHTS. SAYS
THAT US POSITION QTE UNDERSTANDABLE (BECAUSE) TO TELL TRUTH WILL
NOT BE IN FURTHERANCE OF GRAND CONSPIRACY AGAINST NIGERIA.

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THIS WAS OCCASION WHEN TO BE VAGUE AND NONCOMMITABLE
SERVED AMERICAS SUBTLE OFFENSIVE AGAINST NIGERIAS CORPORATE
EXISTENCE UNQTE. SAYS THAT FMG MADE MAJOR CONCESSION IN SIGNING
THIS AGREEMENT WHEN IT DROPPED INSISTENCE THAT ALL FLIGHTS
ORIGINATE IN LAGOS. EXPRESSES HOPE THAT QTE MR. ROGERS WILL
NOT ONLY TAKE NOTICE OF THIS FURTHER CONCESSION TO NATION-BREAKERS
BUT WILL NOT FORGET TO BRING IT TO NOTICE OF AMERICAN PUBLIC
IN HIS NEXT PRESS STATEMENT. THAT WAY HE WILL BE SERVING CAUSE
OF TRUTH UNQTE.
OLSON

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08319 151752Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, SS 20, INR 07, RSR 01, RSC 01, SSO 00, /061 W
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OPI 151710Z SEPI 69
FMI AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO AMEMBASSY COTONOU IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8995
USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 8319

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

1. BIGNAMI REQUEST FOLLOWING BE PASSED SOONEST TO
STURZENEGGER

2. BEGIN TEXT: QTE MALGRE REFUS SECESSIONNISTES AVONS INSISTE
AUPRES AUTORITES NIGERIANES POUR QUE CONTROLEUR VIENNA A COO
POUR REGLER POINTS QUI POURRAIENT EVENTUELLEMENT RESTER EN
SUSPENS

3. NOUS PENSONS QUE GENEVE VU CONTINUATION NEGOCIATIONS
VOUS DONNERA INSTRUCTIONS QUANT A MESURES CONSERVATOIRES A
PRENDRE CONCERNANT CARGOS PRESENTEMENT CHARGES SUR AVIONS

4. MALGRE DIFFICULTES DERNIERE HEURE RESTEZ PRETS NE
PERDEZ PAS CONFIANCE ENDI TEXT BIGNAMI GP 4
OLSON
BT

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XR DEF 12-5 BIAFRA
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PAGE 01 LIBREV 00953 151424Z

53
ACTION INR 07

INFO OCT 01 AF 12, SS 20, JPM 04, NSC 10, CIAE 00, NSAE 00, RSC 01, DODE 00,

MC 02, ACDA 16, UCF 05, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, 084 W
018614

R 151340Z SEP 65
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 953

CITE: SICR-DCDB 21909(DIA)

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN AIRLIFT

1. PRESUMED ARMS FLIGHTS SINCE SEPTEMBER 8:

DC-4 F-BBDD NIGHTS SEPTEMBER 9-10, 10-11, 11-12, 12-13, 13-14,
AND 14-15.

DC-7 TR-LOK NIGHTS SEPTEMBER 12-13, 13-14, AND 14-15.

DC-6 OO-HEX NIGHTS SEPTEMBER 8-9, 9-10, 10-11, 12-12, AND
13-14.

3. IN ADDITION TO DC-7 CITED PARA ONE, A SECOND DC-7,
PRESUMABLY SAME AS DESCRIBED PARA THREE LIBREVILLE 902,
ARRIVED LIBREVILLE DURING DAYLIGHT HOURS SEPTEMBER 10 AND
MADE PRESUMED ARMS FLIGHTS NIGHTS SEPTEMBER 10-11, 11-12, 12-13,
13-14, AND 14-15.

4. DC-7 TR-LOK ARRIVED LIBREVILLE NIGHT SEPTEMBER 8-9, DEPARTED
NIGHT SEPTEMBER 9-10 AND RETURNED NIGHT SEPTEMBER 11-12.

5. HAVE BEEN INFORMED BY LOCAL SOURCE THAT DC-6 OO-HEX CAN
AND OFTEN DOES MAKE TWO RELIEF FLIGHTS PER NIGHT TO BIAFRA.
SAME SOURCE SAYS AVERAGE 18 FLIGHTS PER NIGHT ARRIVE BIAFRA
FROM LIBREVILLE AND SAO TOME.

6. DC-4 F-BRHE (SEE PARA THREE LIBREVILLE 919) HAS NOT

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Libreville 953
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PAGE 02 LIBREV 00953 151424Z

FLOWN SINCE ARRIVAL DUE TO APPARENT ENGINE PROBLEMS.
FUNKHOUSER

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By	MVA
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XR POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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Cotonou
9-15-69
936

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04,

SCA 01, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28, ACDA 16, RSR 01, 155 W
019407

R 151534Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2402
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L *Cotonou*
00936

SUBJECT: NIGERIA

1. PRESIDENT ZINSOU TOLD ME SEPTEMBER 15 HE WAS SURPRISED AT OJUKWU'S TURNDOWN LATEST FORMULA FOR RESUMPTION ICRC FLIGHTS TO BIAFRA. THOUGHT IT WAS PSYCHOLOGICALLY BAD MISTAKE ON OJUKWU'S PART WHICH WOULD LIKELY CAUSE HIM CONSIDERABLE LOSS OF SYMPATHY. OJUKWU MUST HAVE FELT HE HAD VERY GOOD REASONS TO TAKE SUCH RISK.

2. AS TO POSSIBILITIES OF NEGOTIATIONS AND EVENTUAL PEACE, ZINSOU SAID OAU SUMMIT WAS TOO OPEN A FORUM FOR MAKING PROGRESS. HIGHLY SECRET NEGOTIATIONS WERE THE ONLY WAY. IT SEEMED TO HIM THAT RESPONSIBILITY MUST LIE WITH THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH RECOGNIZED BIAFRA FOR NOT URGING OJUKWU TO NEGOTIATE WITH FMG AND SEEK COMPROMISE FORMULA THAT WOULD SAFEGUARD BIAFRAN RIGHTS AND STILL MAINTAIN NIGERIAN UNITY.
LOORAM

(2)

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Poh 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 PARIS 14017 151910Z

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ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 01, AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 01, CCN 00,
SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, RSR 01, UCF 05, UPW 01,
/144 W

P R 151816Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7108
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA

020439

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 14017

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA: ICRC FLIGHTS

1. EMBOFF REVIEWED SEPTEMBER 15 WITH CARRAUD, QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR NON-FRENCH AFRICA, ARGUMENTS PRESENTED LAST WEEK TO QUAI, HOUPHOUET AND BIAFRANS RE SECURITY GUARANTEE ISSUE (PARIS 13732, 13781, AND 13820). CARRAUD JUST RETURNED FGM LEAVE AND NOT FULLY UP TO DATE ON SITUATION, BUT AGAIN EXPRESSED STRONG GOF DISTASTE OVER DOUBLE INSPECTION PROVISION IN ICRC FGM AGREEMENT. EMBOFF NOTED THAT ANY AIRCRAFT WHICH IS CALLED DOWN AT LAGOS FOR SECOND INSPECTION WILL NOT BE PERMITTED LAND AT ULI, SO THAT PLANES WHICH ACTUALLY DO LAND AT ULI WILL IN FACT HAVE BEEN INSPECTED ONLY ONCE. EMBOFF STRESSED THAT THIS KIND OF TECHNICAL OBJECTION, LIKE INSISTENCE ON SECURITY GUARANTEES WHICH ARE NOT POLITICALLY REALISTIC, WILL CARRY LITTLE WEIGHT WITH WORLD OPINION.

2. CARRAUD REPORTED THAT QUAI SEC GEN ALPHAND SEEING BIAFRAN REPS TOMORROW (SEPTEMBER 16). EMBOFF EXPRESSED HOPE THAT ALPHAND, WHOSE CONCERN WITH HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS OF PROBLEM WELL KNOWN, WOULD EMPHASIZE TO BIAFRANS THAT WORLD WILL FIND IT HARD TO UNDERSTAND IF THEY TURN AWAY RELIEF PLANES WHILE

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 PARIS 14017 151910Z

THEIR PEOPLE STARVE. IN THIS REGARD, CARRAUD SAID FRENCH EMBASSY LIBREVILLE HAS REPORTED CONDITIONS STEADILY WORSENING WITHIN BIAFRAN ENCLAVE, WITH REFUGGEE CENTERS SUFFERING MOST SERIOUSLY FROM SHORTAGE FOODSTUFFS.

3. ASKED WHETHER HE KNEW WHAT BIAFRANS WOULD DO IF ICRC STARTED FLYING DESPITE BIAFRAN TURNDOWN, SAID GOFI HAD NO INFORMATION ON THAT POINT. HE SEEMED SURPRISED THAT ICRC WOULD TAKE SUCH ACTION, BUT AGREED IT WOULD PUT BIAFRANS IN DIFFICULT POSITION IN EYES OF WORLD IF THEY REFUSED PERMIT PLANES TO LAND AND UNLOAD.

GP-3

SHRIVER

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

LAGOS 8550
9-14-69

CONFIDENTIAL 840

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08550 241325Z

41
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, /071 W

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R 141140Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9146
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
USUN NEW YORK 1220
AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 8550

LIMDIS

ROME FOR BRUBECK

SUB: BIAFRAN ATTITUDE DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

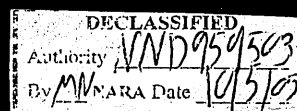
REF: GENEVA 3417; ROME 6051 (NOTAL)

1. COMMENT REF GENEVA TEL BRINGS TO MIND ROME'S 6051 WHICH POINTS OUT THAT GROWING NAF CAPABILITY TO HARASS ULI MAY BE INDUCEMENT FOR JCA WANT LEGALIZATION ITS FLIGHTS AND SUGGESTS THAT JCA MIGHT BE PERSUADED PUT PRESSURE ON BIAFRANS TO ACCEPT DAYLIGHT ARRANGEMENTS PROPOSED BY ICRC. WE STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT WORKING OUT ARRANGEMENTS ACCEPTABLE TO FMG WILL BE ONLY SATISFACTORY SOLUTION TO RELIEF NEEDY IN BIAFRA.

2. ACCORDINGLY, BELIEVE THRUST OF US EFFORT AND THAT OF THOSE SYMPATHETIC WITH GETTING RELIEF TO NEEDY IN BIAFRA SHOULD BE FOCUSED ON PERSUADING BIAFRANS ACCEPT ICRC PROPOSAL WHICH CLEARLY NOT RPT NOT ADVANTAGEOUS MILITARILY TO FMG. IN SHORT, SINCE IMPOSSIBLE ACCOMMODATE BIAFRANS WITH POLITICAL ADVANTAGES IN FORM GUARANTEES THEY INSISTING ON, WE MUST DEMONSTRATE TO THEM THAT POLITICAL DISADVANTAGES OF REFUSING

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08550 241325Z

GO ALONG WITH ICRC PROPOSAL ARE GREATER THAN DISADVANTAGES
ACCEPTANCE DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. GP-1
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Authority	VND959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S

I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

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POST *Lagos*

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SERIAL *8550*

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DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT

836

Secretariat

Geographic

Other

S/S-S *1*
S/S-O *1*
S/S-Screener *3*
S/S-EX
S/S-CMS
S/S-O DIR
MilRep
Digest
Task Force

AF 5 *X 5*
ARA 11
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

ACDA 5
AID 12

Functional

Principals and "S" Area

CU
E 2
H
INR 6 *6*
IO 4 *4*
L 2
O 3
OPR
OC
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WLG

TRSY 6
FRB
EXIM
BOB
CEA
COM 2
STR
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AGR 3
LAB
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Other

TRANS
CAB

S/PM
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U/CF *1*
U/PW
PM 3
D/WP
U/UCS

WH 10
VP
DOD
CIA *P*
USIA 4
PC

AEC 3
NASA
JUS
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NSA
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Burned 8/5/69

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By *MN* NARA Date *10/5/05*

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 551

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03290 150839Z

14
ACTION SS: 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO: 00, SSO: 00, NSCE: 00, DODE: 00, CIAE: 00, USIE: 00, /071
016983

O 141255Z SEP 69 ZFG
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2935
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
USUN NEW YORK 3700

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 3290

LIMDIS

STATE FOR AMB FERGUSON

SUBJECT: NIGERIA - ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

1. ICRC HAS RECEIVED SUMMARY REPORT OF MEETING YESTERDAY AFTERNOON BETWEEN ITS DELEGATE AND COOKEY IN OWERRI. ACCORDING TO BRIEF MESSAGE LATTER MADE FOUR POINTS:

- (1) CHANGE IN COTONOU INSPECTION PROCEDURE NOT RPT NOT ACCEPTABLE
- (2) PROVISION "WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO MILITARY OPERATIONS" NOT RPT NOT ACCEPTABLE "WITHOUT STRONG GUARANTEES"
- (3) DECLARATION OF UN (UNDOUBTEDLY TRANSMISSION GARBLE AND SHOULD READ US) NOT RPT NOT CONSIDERED SUFFICIENT
- (4) ICRC WILL BE GIVEN FORMAL REPLY EARLY NEXT VIA OBI.

2. MESSAGE WAS FILED YESTERDAY 1600. ERGO UNCLEAR WHETHER ICRC DELY OWERRI AND BIAFRANS KNEW THAT FMG HAD SIGNED AGREEMENT.

3. BASSET SOUNDED SHOOK AND UNCERTAIN WHAT TO DO NEXT. HE IS PRESENTLY OUT OF TOUCH WITH NAVILLE WHO TRAVELING IN NEAR EAST

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Geneva 3290
9-14-69

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Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03290 150839Z

WITH GENEVA ETA SET FOR SEPT 19, FREYMOND IS EN ROUTE TO SOUTHERN FRANCE WHERE BASSET HOPES REACH HIM TOMORROW. WE URGED BASSET TO GET MOVING BEFORE BIAFRAN POSITION GETS RIGIDLY FROZEN IN FORM FOR-
MAL REPLY. HE JUST CALLED BACK TO ADVISE THAT HE HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH FRENCH CG/GENEVA WHO WILL INFORM QUAI. BASSET ALSO TRIED CONTACT HOUPHET BUT HAS BEEN UNABLE LOCATE HIM AS HE IS SPENDING WEEK-END OUTSIDE PARIS.

4. AMBASSADOR HAS TRIED THUS FAR WITHOUT SUCCESS REACH OBI IN FRANKFURT TO POINT OUT TO HIM THAT BIAFRAN REJECTION IN WAKE FMG ACCEPTANCE IS BOUND CAUSE TREMENDOUS LOSS SUPPORT AMONG PRESENT BIAFRAN SYMPATHIZERS WHOSE OVERRIDING CONCERN IS STARVATION OF INNOCENT VICTIMS. WE HAVE MADE SAME POINTS TO MARKPRESS WHICH FULLY AGREES THAT PUBLIC RELATIONS IMPACT OF BIAFRAN REJECTION WOULD BE "VERY SEVERE" BUT APPEARED SO UNCONCERNED THAT WE ASSUME ACCOUNT HAS BEEN PREPAID.

5. MISSION WONDERS WHETHER PORTUGUESE AND/OR NYERE AND BONGO MIGHT BE WILLING ADD THEIR VOICES IN SUPPORT ICRC FLIGHTS IF APPROACHED ON ASSUMPTION THAT FRENCH AND HOUPHET WILL CAN NOT DO MUCH MORE.
TUBBY

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Authority	VND959503
By	MMNARA
Date	10/5/05

L I M D I S

I N C O M I N G

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Secretariat

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 S/S-O 1
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 MilRep 1
 Digest 1
 Task Force 1

Principals and
"S" Area

ES 1
 S 1
 U 1
 J 1
 D 1
 C 1
 S/PC 2 12

S/CPR 1
 S/FW 1
 S/GOV 1
 S/IL 1

S/PM 1
 S/R 1
 U/CF 1
 U/PW 1
 J/PM 1
 D/WP 1
 U/UCS 1

Geographic

AF 5
 ARA 9
 EA 11
 EUR 10
 NEA 8

Functional

CU 1
 E 2
 H 1
 INR 6
 IO 4
 L 2
 O 3
 OPR 1
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 SCA 1
 VO 1
 SCS 1
 SCI 1

Other

WH 10
 VP 1
 DOD 1
 CIA 1
 USIA 4
 PC 1

Other

ACDA 5
 AID 12

TRSY 6
 FRB 1
 EXIM 1
 BOB 1
 CEA 1
 COM 2
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 By MM NARA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S
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POST GENEVA

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Task Force 1

Principals and
"S" Area

ES 1
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U 1
J 1
D 1
C 1
S/PC 2

S/CPR 1
S/FW 1
S/GOV 1
S/IL 1

S/PM 1
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U/CF 1
U/PW 1
J/PM 1
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U/UCS 1

Geographic

AF 5
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EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

Functional

CU 1
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OPR 1
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SCA 1
VO 1
SCS 1
SCI 1

Other

WH 10
VP 1
DOD 1
CIA 1
USIA 4
PC 1

Other

ACDA 5
AID 12
TRSY 6
FRB 1
EXIM 1
BOB 1
CEA 1
COM 2
STR 1
TAR 1
WHRE 1
AGR 3
LAB 1
HEW 1
INT 1
TRANS 1
CAB 1
AEC 3
NASA 1
JUS 1
FBI 1
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46
POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

155563

13 SEP 69 00 40z

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Origin ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE

Info: INFO : Amembassy COTONOU
~~XXX~~ Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy PARIS
Amconsul ISTANBUL
USMission GENEVA
USUN

STATE

LIMDIS

SUBJ: Nigeria/ICRC Flights

REF: a) Geneva 3275, b) Geneva 3278, c) Lagos 8219

1. Prospects that FMG will sign agreement Saturday seem far from
in
reassuring (ref c) and record of delays leads us to conclude /light
present ICRC intentions (refs a and b) that we have no choice but
to make further demarche to FMG. Therefore, request that you convey
to Gowon, through highest official possible, President's deep interest
this problem and importance USG attaches to signature agreement
Saturday so as to permit ICRC daytime airlift to go forward this
heartened
weekend. USG and US public were greatly /~~heartened~~ in early September
by FMG acceptance of ICRC airlift proposal.

7
~~XX~~ It would indeed be tragic if, because of delay in formality of
signing agreement, FMG placed itself in position of being blamed
—by world opinion for failure of proposal on which such high

Drafted by: AF/SN:GBSherry/AF:AmbMoore 9/12/69 29311
Clearances: S/PC Mr. Ruser
U/C Mr. Amb. Ferguson
Tel. Ext. 69 29311
Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
The Under Secretary
S/S - Mr. Brown

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FORM DS-322
8-65

0765

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Authority: VIND 950503
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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-2-

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Origin
Info: ACTION:

humanitarian hopes are being placed.
2 British
/S. /~~Emb~~ Embassy here is proposing that FonOff instruct UK Hicomer
along similar lines. You should, of course, concert with him and
Bignami but not hold up your own demarche if Hicomer uninstructed.
GP-3

END

ROGERS

Drafted by:	Tel. Ext.	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:
Clearances:		

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

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INDICATE:
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Department of State

TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-
 155721

NI GERIA

13 SEP 69 16 26z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: USMission GENEVA PRIORITY

INFO: Amembassy BANGKOK

SUBJ: Gutman Tdy

REF: / (A)
 Geneva 3270; (B) State 152390; (C) State 154685;
 (D) State 154686

1. U/CF and AID appreciate vital role Gutman has
 played and is playing, concur in proposed extension
 reftel X A.

~~END~~

2. Refs B, C, and D. Davidson planning arrive Geneva
 Wednesday a.m.

END.

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: U/CF: AEBewey	DRAFTING DATE 9/13/69	TEL. EXT. 23256	APPROVED BY: U/CF: Amb. Ferguson
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CLEARANCES:
 AFR/CWA (AID) - Miss Helen Wilson (phone)

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FORM FS-413
 4-68

0767

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 By MVA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

VN SOC 3 RED CROSS

CONFIDENTIAL 008

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03288 131310Z

46
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04,
SCA 01, UPW 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00,
JRM 04, HI 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20,
RSR 01, ISI W

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O 131214Z SEP 69 ZFF-6
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2933
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
USUN NEW YORK 3699

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3288

STATE FOR UUCFI

SUBJECT: NIGERIA - ICRC FLIGHTS

REF: 1. GENEVA 3275
2. LAGOS 8260 (NOTAL)

1. WEI PHONED HAPPY NEWS OF FMG SIGNATURE TO BASSET IN ABSENCE
FREYMOND WHO HAS ALREADY LEFT GENEVA (REF 1).

2. IN VIEW REPORTED NIGERIA-BIAFRA PEACE TALKS (ARTICLE IN
TODAY'S HERALD TRIB AND BY WIRE SERVICES ACCORDING ICRC) AND
FACT ICRC DELV BIAFRA CABLED THAT OWERRI (COOKEY) HAD NOT REPEAT
NOT RECEIVED OBI'S REPORT AS OF 1300 YESTERDAY, FREYMOND LEFT
LAST MINUTE INSTRUCTIONS NOT REPORT NOT FORCE FLIGHTS IMMEDIATELY
ON BIAFRANS IN CASE FMG SIGNS. BIAFRANS ARE TO BE GIVEN A FEW
EXTRA DAYS. THIS REFLECTS MAJOR CHANGE IN REF 1 SCENARIO.
BASSET QUERIED WHETHER WEI HAD ANYTHING TO ADD TO PEACE REPORTS

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GENEVA-3288
9-1369

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03288 131310Z

TO WHICH WE COULD QUITE HONESTLY REPLY "NO", ESPECIALLY AS HT HAS NOT YET REACHED MISSION. WE WILL APPRECIATE BEING KEPT INFORMED IF THERE IS ANYTHING TO THESE REPORTS ABOUT WHICH ICRC CALLED FOR THIRD TIME WHILE THIS IS BEING WRITTEN.

3. UKI CG JUST PHONED TO PASS ON SIGNING NEWS WHICH HE RECEIVED THIS INSTANT FROM HICOM/LAGOS. EVANS ALSO MENTIONED HAVING RECEIVED TWO CALLS FROM ICRC RE ALLEGED PEACE NEGOTIATIONS FROM OWERRI ADDING THAT HE HAD SEEN NOTHING WHATSOEVER ON THIS.

COMMENT: FMG SIGNATURE SHOULD AT LEAST TEMPORARILY TAKE PRESSURE OFF NAVILLE AND REPRESENTS AT LEAST INTERIM VINDICATION HIS POLICY. SINCE BASSET WAS TALKING ABOUT GIVING BIAFRANS "ANOTHER 48 HOURS OR SO", WE ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO CRISIS FREE 3-4 DAYS.
TUBBY

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



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Department of State

TELEGRAM

155521

INDICATE:

☐ COLLECT☐ CHARGE TO

30

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LIBREVILLE

SUBJECT: REPORTING ON BIAFRAN SITUATION AND AIRLIFT

REF: a) LIBREVILLE 892
b) LIBREVILLE 902
c) LANPHER LETTER TO AF/C, August 12

1. Your reporting is of utility and importance to us, both as to keeping gauge of day to day developments in area, and for research purposes. We urge you to continue at present levels of reporting.

2. Even though some information might on occasion be duplicative, it can serve to confirm other information received, or possibly even provide vital piece of data in some overall pattern.

3. Foregoing especially true for reporting on airlift and planes staging in Libreville. Your periodic reports may be of routine nature ~~XXXXXXXX~~ for some weeks, then suddenly provide useful information tying in with airlift tallies received from other areas; e.g., Sao Tome, or even radar or sight observations by Nigerians monitoring Uli flight landings. This true even in negative sense. Recently, British press had published stories of C-130's (Hercules) landing South African arms at Libreville. On basis of fact you had not reported sightings, we were able set story straight with newsmen here.

DRAFTED BY

AF/C:JPSullivan:km

CLEARANCES:

AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck

DRAFTING DATE

9/12/69

TEL. EXT.

22216

APPROVED BY:

AF/C - John A. McKesson

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4-68

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TELEGRAM

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ACTION: Page 2 - to Libreville

4. As for Delauney and Merle, we pleased with your initiatives with them, and hope you will keep these channels open. As you point out, what they pass on may be sanitized and will certainly bear cast reflective of policies emanating Paris. Nonetheless, what they do say may contain items of local origin that can be of value to us here.

GP-3

END

ROGERS

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POL 309W
TRPOL 279 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State
TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 342

PAGE 01 ADDIS 04120 140738Z

21
ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, RSR 01, UCF 05, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04,
SCA 01, UPW 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00,
CCO 00, JPM 04, HI 02, INRI 07, LI 03, NSC 10, PI 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20,
/144 W

P R 131630Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 897
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY DARI ES SALAAM

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 4120

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: COMMENTS OF NIGERIAN AND TANZANIAN
AMBASSADORS:

1. (A) NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR SANU TOLD ME: SEPTEMBER 12:
HE BELIEVES SLIGHT PROGRESS WAS MADE AT RECENT OAU
MEETINGS TOWARD RESOLUTION OF NIGERIA PROBLEM, AND THAT
THERE IS POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS
AS RESULT MEETINGS.

(B) SANU SAYS HE KNOWS NOTHING OF NYERERE'S RUMORED
INTENTION TO VISIT BIAFRA FOR TALKS WITH OJUKWU, BUT THAT
NYERERE DID INDICATE HE WOULD COMMUNICATE TO OJUKWU
GOWON'S WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT CEASEFIRE IF HE RECEIVES
OFFER FROM OJUKWU IN WRITING TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY. FMG
ENVISAGES CEASEFIRE TO BE FOLLOWED BY 14-DAY TRUCE
DURING WHICH THERE WOULD BE NO TROOP MOVEMENTS. FMG
WOULD HOWEVER INSIST ON NAFI OBSERVATION FLIGHTS TO
VERIFY BIAFRANS NOT SHIFTING TROOPS OR FLYING IN ARMS.
EVEN WITH OBSERVATION FLIGHTS, SANU NOTED, TROOP

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*Addis Ababa 4120
9-13-69*

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Authority VND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
XR SOC 3 RED CROSS
Department of State
TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED 109

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ACTION ID 15

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, NEA 13, SR 01, ORM 03, UCF 05, UPW 01, ACDA 16,

SCSE 00, SCA 01, OIC 05, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, RSR 01, ARA 12, EA 10,

NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, /164 W

O P 131409Z SEP 69

FM AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1702

INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY COTONOU

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY OSLO

USMISSION GENEVA

UNCLAS ISTANBUL 1398

SUBJECT: ANNOUNCEMENT OF FMG SIGNATURE AT RED CROSS CONFERENCE

REF: LAGOS 8260 - POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

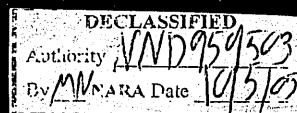
1. IN TALKS WITH SOME NORDICS LAST EVENING IT APPEARED THAT THEY HAD REACHED CONSENSUS THAT NO POINT IN TABLING RESOLUTION ON NIGERIA. NAVILLE WOULD MAKE ONLY BRIEF REFERENCE IN CLOSING STATEMENT EXPRESSING HOPE THAT INFORMATION HE HAD BEEN GIVEN ASSURING SIGNATURE TODAY WOULD BE CORRECT AND THAT FLIGHTS WOULD BEGIN NOT LATER THAN MONDAY.

2. REFTEL ARRIVED MINUTES AFTER COMPLETION OF NAVILLE STATEMENT. IT WAS PASSED TO HIM. HE WROTE OUT A LITTLE NOTE FOR LADY LIMERICK WHO, IN ALMOST LAST ACTION OF CONFERENCE, ANNOUNCED SIGNATURE AND THAT FLIGHTS WOULD RESUME SHORTLY.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

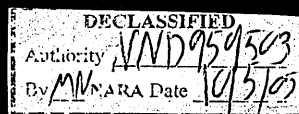
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PAGE 02 ISTANB 01398 131529Z

3. EVERYONE
LEFT IN A ROSY GLOW, EVEN THE NORDICS, AT LEAST FOR
THE MOMENT.
HECK!

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

XR POL 7 DAHOMEY

CONFIDENTIAL 939

PAGE 01 COTONO: 00935 131057Z

14

ACTION: AFI 18

INFO: OCT 01, NEA 13, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00,

USIE 00, CCO 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01

SS 20, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, UCF 05, UPW 01, RSR 01

EUR 17, 157 W

010983

O P 131012Z SEP 69 ZFF-5
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2401
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
USMISSION GENEVA
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

CONFIDENTIAL COTONOU 935

SUBJECT: RESUMPTION ICRC AIRLIFT

1. PIERROT, ICRC LIASON WITH DAHOMEAN GOVT, TOLD AMBASSADOR THIS MORNING HE HAS ASKED BIGNAMI REQUEST FMG INFORM DAHOMEAN GOVERNMENT DIRECTLY AND IMMEDIATELY AFTER FMG GIVES WRITTEN AGREEMENT TO RESUMPTION. ICRC FLIGHTS FROM COTONOU, DAHOMEANS, PIERROT CONTINUED, INSIST ON RECEIVING WORD DIRECT FROM FMG WHICH MIGHT CAUSE DELAY OVER WEEK-END. PIERROT WILL, IN ANY CASE,

INFORM DAHOMEAN GOVERNMENT IMMEDIATELY ON RECEIPT ADVICE FROM BIGNAMI AND ALERT DAHOMEANS TO EXPECT CONFIRMATION DIRECT FROM FMG.

2. PRESIDENT ZINSOU EXPECTED RETURN FROM KINSHASA THIS MORNING WHILE FONMIN LEAVING FOR PARIS TONIGHT.
LOORAM

CONFIDENTIAL

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Cotonou 935
9-13-69

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Authority VND 959503
By MM NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 Biafra Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 315

PAGE 01 BONN 12057 140029Z

80
ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07

LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USA 12, UCF 05

SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, PCI 04, RSR 01, I72 W
013516

R 132230Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO USMISSION GENEVA
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 5201
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

CONFIDENTIAL A L BONN 12057

SUBJ: NIGERIA RELIEF - ICRC AIRLIFT

REF: STATE 152748 GENEVA 3238

1. EMBOFFI SUMMARIZED US POSITION OUTLINED IN REFTELS FOR THE FONOFF (DR. GIESEN, COORDINATOR FOR HUMANITARIAN AID) AND URGED THAT FRG REPS IN GENEVA BE AUTHORIZED MAKE PARALLEL APPROACH TO OBI AT THIS TIME. GIESEN SAID THAT THE FONOFF FULLY SUPPORTS SECRETARY ROGERS' STATEMENT AS WELL AS OUR TACTICAL APPROACH. HE POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT THE FRG BUNDESTAG ON JULY 3 HAD UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED A RESOLUTION APPEALING TO BOTH COMBATANTS AND THE WORLD AT LARGE TO HELP RESUME RELIEF FLIGHTS. THE APPEAL WAS COMMUNICATED TO BOTH SIDES AND TO THE ICRC EARLY IN JULY, AND WAS ALSO GIVEN WIDE MEDIA PUBLICITY. IN THE PAST WEEK, THE FRG FORCEFULLY REITERATED TO THE ICRC ITS SUPPORT FOR RESUMPTION OF RELIEF FLIGHTS. THE FONOFF THEREFORE THOUGHT A FURTHER APPEAL AT THIS TIME MIGHT BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE.

2. WE TOLD GIESEN THAT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PRESENT EFFORT WOULD DEPEND LARGELY ON A BROAD NUMBER OF SIMILAR APPEALS BEING FOCUSED AT ONE TIME ON BIAFRAN REPS, AND WE POINTED OUT THAT THE FRG'S WELL-KNOWN NON-PARTISAN POSTURE IN THIS ISSUE WOULD MAKE ITS SUPPORT ADDITIONALLY USEFUL. EMPHASIZING THAT THEIR RELUC- TANCE WAS ONLY TACTICAL AND THAT THEY HAD NO OTHER OBJECTIONS, GIESEN REPLIED THAT, IF THE ICRC THOUGHT THE FRG SHOULD REPEAT

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PAGE 02 BONN 12057 140029Z

ITS APPEAL AT THIS TIME, THE FONOFF WOULD BE PLEASED TO CONSIDER
THE QUESTION ONCE AGAIN.

3% COMMENT: GENEVA MAY WISH TO TAKE THIS UP WITH THE ICRC WITH
A VIEW TO ITS ENLISTING FRG SUPPORT FOR THE PRESENT EFFORT.
RUSH

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08267 131550Z

46

ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, NEA 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28, SRI 01, ORM 03,

SCSE 00, SCA 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

JPM 04, HL 02, INRI 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20,

EI 15, RSRI 01, 168 W

012103

PI RI 131240Z SEP 69

FMI AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO: AMCONGENI ISTANBUL PRIORITY

SECSTATE WASHDC 8968

USMISSION GENEVA

INFO: AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY COTONOU

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS LAGOS 8267

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF AGREEMENT ON RELIEF FLIGHTS

1. INFO COMMISSIONER ENAHORO FORMERLY ANNOUNCED FMG
AND ICRC AGREEMENT ON RELIEF FLIGHTS TO REBEL ENCLAVE
MORNING SEPTEMBER 13. TEXT FOLLOWS:

2. BEGIN TEXT: "AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE FEDERAL
MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND THE ICRC ON RELIEF FLIGHTS TO
THE REBEL ENCLAVE WAS SIGNED THIS MORNING IN LAGOS.
THE AGREEMENT IS FOR AN EXPERIMENTAL PERIOD OF THREE
WEEKS.

3. THE AGREEMENT PROVIDES THAT (1) ALL RELIEF FLIGHTS SHALL
TAKE PLACE IN DAYLIGHT HOURS; (2) A FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
INSPECTOR SHALL JOIN TWO INSPECTORS APPOINTED
RESPECTIVELY BY THE GOVERNMENT OF DAHOMEY AND THE
ICRC TO INSPECT RELIEF CONSIGNMENTS AT COTONOU.

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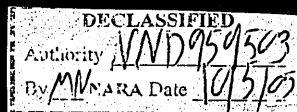
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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08267 131550Z

KQQQL THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INSPECTOR HAS THE RIGHT, ACTING ALONE, TO EXCLUDE FROM ANY FLIGHT ANY CARGO OR PASSENGERS WHO DO NOT FORM PART OF GENUINE RELIEF ACTION. (IV) THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHALL CALL DOWN FOR INSPECTION IN LAGOS ANY AIRCRAFT IT WISHES WHETHER OR NOT THE AIRCRAFT HAS BEEN INSPECTED AT COTONOU. (V) RELIEF MATERIAL SHALL BE AS AGREED BY THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR REHABILITATION. (VI) ONLY AGREED RELIEF PERSONNEL SHALL BE ENTITLED TO BOARD AIRCRAFT. (VII) HOURS OF FLIGHTS SHALL BE BETWEEN 9 A.M. AND 5 P.M. (VIII) THESE ARRANGEMENTS SHALL BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO MILITARY OPERATIONS BY FEDERAL FORCES." END TEXT.
OLSON

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POL 279 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 036

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08266 131231Z

52
ACTION: AFI 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, NSAE 00,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, NSC 10, SS 20, RSC 01, L 03, H 02, P 03, INR 07,

AID 28, PC 04, SR 01, ORM 03, UCF 05, UPW 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01,

/160 W

011383

0 131136Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8964
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMTKDIAE
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMCONGEN ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 8266

SUBJ: FMG INITIALS EMERGENCY DAYLIGHT FLIGHT AGREEMENT

REF: A) STATE 155568 B) LAGOS 8260 (NOTAL)

1. AS FLASHED REFERENCE TEL B (NOTAL), CHIEF ENAHORO
SIGNED EMERGENCY DAYLIGHT FLIGHT AGREEMENT ON BEHALF
FMG AT 1030 LOCAL SEPTEMBER 13. ENAHORO WILL MAKE
BRIEF ANNOUNCEMENT TO PRESS AT HIS REGULAR SATURDAY
NOON PRESS CONFERENCE. BIGNAMI HAS RECOMMENDED THAT
ICRC MAKE SIMULTANEOUS ANNOUNCEMENT.

2. BIGNAMI TOLD US HE AGAIN EXPRESSED HOPE TO CHIEF
ENAHORO THAT FMG WOULD NOT OVER-EXERCISE ITS RIGHT
CALL DOWN AIRCRAFT AT LAGOS ESPECIALLY DURING INITIAL
PHASE OF OPERATION IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH AIR BRIDGE
BEFORE BIAFRANS GIVEN EXCUSE TO REFUSE LANDING AT ULI.

3. ICRC HERE TOUCHING BASE AGAIN WITH MILITARY

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08266 131231Z

AUTHORITIES TODAY ON TECHNICAL PROBLEMS IN ORDER
COMMENCE FLIGHTS FROM COTONOU AS PLANNED MONDAY,
SEPTEMBER 15.

4. BELIEVE ICRC AND ALL OF US INTERESTED IN THE
DAYFLIGHTS OWE GREAT DEBT OF THANKS TO BIGNAMI
WHOSE FINE ITALIAN HAND WAS ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH AGREE-
MENT WHICH SWISS VOLATILITY AND OBDURACY CAME NEAR TO
DESTROYING. GP-3
OLSON
BT

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 911

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08260 131026Z

21
ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, NEA 13, IO 13, SS 20, INRI 07, NSC 10, UCF 05, SCS 04, SCA 01,

SSO 00, NSCE 00, LS 02, RSR 01, CCO 00, EUR 17, 112 W
010839

Z 131010Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 8959
USMISSION GENEVA
AMCONGEN ISTANBUL

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 8260

SUBJ: FMG INITIALS EMERGENCY DAYLIGHT FLIGHT AGREEMENT

1. BIGNAMI (ICRC) REQUESTS FOLLOWING BE PASSED IMMEDIATELY
TO FREYMOND, ICRC GENEVA AND NAVILLE, ICRC ISTANBUL:

2. QUOTE: 1) ACCORD AVEC AUTORITES FMG CONCERNANT
REPRISE VOLS EMERGENCY SIGNE CE MATIN A 1030 HEURES
AVEC COMMISSAIRE CHIEF A. ENAHORO. 2) APRES
REMERCIEMENTS REPRESENTANT(S) FMG J'AI REMIS NOTE
DU CICR DU 8 SEPT. 3) J'ESPERE VOUS POURREZ FAIRE
DECLARATION A 1200 HEURES SUISSE COMME ICI MFG FERA
COURT STATEMENT MEME HEURE. 4) LES MESURES ONT ETE
PRISES POUR CONTACTER ENCORE CE MATIN LES AUTORITES
INTERESSEES AU CONTROLE DE LA REPRISE DES VOLS. ESPERE
QU'IL NOUS SERA POSSIBLE DEFINIR AUJOURD'HUI MEME.
5) JE SIGNALERAI AUSSITOT QUE POSSIBLE A COTONOU
SI ON PEUT REPREDRE LES VOLS COMME PREVU LUNDI PROCHAIN.
BIGNAMI" GP-3 OLSON
BT

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CONFIDENTIAL

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Authority VND 959503
By MNA Date 10/5/05

9-13-69
Jagoe 8260

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

Lagos 8215
9-12-69

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08215 121242Z

43 42
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, SSO 00, SS 20, INR 07, RSC 01, RSR 01, /048 W
003415

O 121200Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8930
AMEMBASSY COTONOU

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 8215

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF: DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

1. BIGNAMI REQUESTS FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO STURZENEGGER
BE TRANSMITTED SOONEST.
"ENVOYER AUJOURD'HUI MESSENGER FRONTIERE IDIROKO A 1500.
"PFISTER VOUS REMETTRA EXTRAIT MODALITES TECHNIQUES QUI
NOUS ONT ETE REMISES CE JOUR PAR NAF ET QUE NOUS ESPERONS
DEFINITIVES QUOIQUE MODIFICATIONS EVENTUELLES DE DERNIERE
MINUTE PAS EXCLUES."

"COMME NOUS VENONS DE RECEVOIR CE DOCUMENT N'AVONS PAS
ENCORE ETE EN MESURE DE LE DISCUTER AVEC NAF.
"CONFIRMER CE SOIR RECEPTION ET PREPARATION EXECUTION
MODALITES TECHNIQUES POSEES PAR NAF. PLUS EVENTUELLES
OBSERVATIONS DUMENT ET AMPLEMENT MOTIVEES." BIGNAMI.
DECON 9/12/70
OLSON
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By MVA Date 10/5/05



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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**
Lagos 8217
9-13-69

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08217 121227Z

43
ACTION: AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, SSO 00, SS 20, INRI 07, RSC 01, RSR 01, /061 W
003337

O 121200Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8929
USMISSION GENEVA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 8217

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

1. BIGNAMI ASKS THAT FOLLOWING MESSAGE BE TRANSMITTED FROM
HIM TO FREYMOND (ICRC) SOONEST.

"SUITE MOM MESSAGE PROPOS DECLARATION ARIKPO SIGNATURE ACCORD
EST RENVOYEE DEMAIN SAMEDI 1000 PROBABLEMENT FAIT ENGAGEMENTS
PRIS AVEC DAHOMEY.

"AVONS RECU CE MATIN COMMUNICATION OFFICIELLE CLAUSES
TECHNIQUES VOLS PAR NAFI QUE TRANSMETS IMMEDIATEMENT PAR
ROUTE 000.

"PETIT RETARD QUOIQUE REGRETTABLE PERMETTRA PEUT-ETRE
DISCUSSION SUPPLEMENTAIRE HAUT LIEU ASSOUPPLISSEMENT
CONTROLES SOLI NATIONAL." BIGNAMI. DECON 9/12/70
OLSON
BT

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State

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9-12-69
8219

CONFIDENTIAL 840

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08219 121318Z

47

ACTION: AFI 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01,

PRS 01, SS 20, UCF 05, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, AID 28,

RSR 01, 157 W

003643

O P 121206Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8931
USMISSION GENEVA
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 8219

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REF: STATE 154169 (NOTAL); LAGOS 8206 (NOTAL); LAGOS 8205

1. UNFORTUNATELY, BRITISH REPORT CONTAINED PARA 1 STATE 154169 ACCURATE. PAO, WHO CLOSE FRIEND ENAHOROS, HAS MADE VIGOROUS EFFORT PERSUADE ENAHORO SIGN DAYLIGHT AGREEMENT TODAY BUT ENAHORO ADAMANT THAT SATURDAY EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE. PAO MADE POINT THAT AGREEMENT TO BE SIGNED, CONTRARY ENAHOROS INFORMATION, DOES NOT INCLUDE NEW CONDITION RECALL DOWN. BIGNAMI HAS, AS HAVE WE AND UKHICOM, MADE POINT IN TERMS OF ADVICE, WHICH FMG COULD TAKE OR LEAVE, THAT BE BEST IF OPERATION COULD GET OFF TO INITIAL START WITHOUT CALL DOWN. PRINCIPAL REASON FOR DELAY, IN ADDITION TO FELT NEED TO TAKE MATTER ONCE MORE TO GOWON, IS FMG PROMISE MADE TO INFORM DAHOMEY PRIOR MAKING AGREEMENT WITH ICRC. ARIKPO, WHEN REMINDED OF THIS BY ENAHORO, CONFESSED FORGETFULNESS. IT CLEAR THAT AFTER DONNYBROOK

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By: MVA Date: 10/3/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LAGOS 08219 121318Z

WITH DAHOMEY AS CONSEQUENCE LINDT'S OPERATION, FMG
ATTEMPTING KEEP ITS RELATIONSHIPS CLOSE, FRIENDLY AND PROPER.

2. BIGNAMI TOLD US TODAY THAT TECHNICAL ARRANGEMENTS NOW
SIGNED WITH NAF AND HE MUCH ENCOURAGED BY THIS DEVELOPMENT.
HE ALSO SEEMS RELATIVELY RELAXED ABOUT SATURDAY SIGNING
IN VIEW FACT THAT PLANES IN COTONOU ARE READY TO GO AT
ALMOST MOMENT'S NOTICE SO THERE NO SIGNIFICANT DELAY
BETWEEN SIGNING OF AGREEMENT AND TIME WHEN PLANES COULD
IN FACT TAKE OFF.

3. BOTH HICOMER AND I HAVE RAISED MATTER WITH ARIKPOAS
HAD BIGNAMI. WE BELIEVE, AND BIGNAMI AND HICOMER AGREE,
THAT NOTHING FURTHER WE CAN DO TO PROMOTE EARLIER SIGNING
OF AGREEMENT. APPARENT FROM BO'S CONVERSATION WITH
ENAHORO THAT HE BRIDLING UNDER PRESSURE AND ANY FURTHER
EFFORT OUR PART COULD, AND PROBABLY WOULD, BOOMERANG. GP-3

NOTE: SYSTEMS FOR CCO.

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET 572

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08252 121917Z

91
ACTION SS: 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, /071 W

006005

R 121648Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8954
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY

S E C R E T LAGOS 8252

LIMDIS:

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF; DAY AIRLIFTS AND IBO REASSURANCE

REF: GENEVA 3251

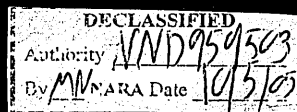
1. WE RECOGNIZE THAT BIAFRAN FEARS EFFECTIVELY MOTIVATE MANY OF THEIR ACTIONS. REGARDING OBI'S WORRY THAT NIGERIANS WOULD QTE SEIZE ULT AIRSTRIIP UNQTE UNDER COVER DAY FLIGHTS, WE WOULD HAVE TO RATE THIS AS FAR-OUT POSSIBILITY. FMG INCAPABLE MOUNTING SUCCESSFUL AIRBORNE ATTACK ON ULT, AND IT HIGHLY DOUBTFUL THEY HAVE EVEN CONSIDERED IT. FMG'S ONLY CHANCE TAKING ULT IS SLOGGING FORWARD ON LAND, AND LITTLE PROGRESS ON THIS SINCE FALL OF UMUAHIA.

2. WE SHARE DOUBT EXPRESSED REFTTEL THAT FMG WILL TRY JEOPARDIZE DAY AIRLIFT. WE STRONGLY DISCOUNT OBI'S SUGGESTION THAT FEDERALS WOULD BE QTE DEMORALIZED UNQTE BY DAY FLIGHTS.

3. EMBASSY ALSO CONCURS PARA 7 REFTTEL THAT OBI AND OTHER BIAFRAN LEADERS VERY MUCH CONCERNED WITH FUTURE OF REBEL QTE ELITE UNQTE. LEAVING ASIDE QUESTION OF RESPONSIBILITY THOSE LEADERS BEAR FOR PAST AND PRESENT IBO SUFFERING, WE THINK IT RELEVANT TO POINT OUT FMG PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON GUARANTEES FOR IBOS MADE SEPTEMBER 1968 AT

SECRET

0787





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 LAGOS 08252 121917Z

ADDIS ABABA AND AGAIN APRIL 1969 AT MONROVIA. GIST OF THESE AS FOLLOWS:

A. IBOS TO PARTICIPATE IN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ON SAME BASIS AS PEOPLE FROM OTHER STATES. WILL BE EAST CENTRAL STATE COMMISSIONER ON FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AND MILITARY GOVERNOR WILL BE IBO. FMG WILL QTE GRANT GENERAL AND SPECIFIC AMNESTY UNQTE AND WILL QTE SEEK TO REINSTATE AND REEMPLOY FORMER FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVANTS UNQTE WHO HAVE HAD TO LEAVE THEIR POSTS.

B. ADMINISTRATION OF EAST CENTRAL STATE ITSELF QTE WILL BE IN HANDS OF PEOPLE OF THAT STATE UNQTE. QTE LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES, JUDICIARY, CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATORS WILL BE IBOS OF EAST CENTRAL STATE ORIGIN UNQTE. STATE GOVERNMENT SERVANTS WILL ALSO BE REINSTATE AND REEMPLOYED.

C. POLICE WILL BE DRAWN FROM PERSONS INDIGENOUS TO EAST CENTRAL STATE.

D. FEDERALS ACCEPT QTE ESTABLISHMENT OF EXTERNAL OBSERVER FORCE TO PROVIDE ADDED CONFIDENCE, SECURITY FOR PEOPLE IN AREAS AT PRESENT UNDER CONTROL OF OTHER SIDE UNQTEM

E. FEDERAL ARMY WILL NOT NORMALLY PERFORM ORDINARY POLICING DUTIES AND THERE NO RPT NO NEED STATION FEDERAL FORCES IN ALL PARTS OF EAST CENTRAL STATE. QTE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE NUMBER OF STRATEGIC PLACES WHERE FEDERAL FORCES TO BE STATIONED UNQTE.

4. WE RECOGNIZE THAT EVEN THESE DETAILED PUBLIC REASSURANCES MAY NOT ALLAY FEARS OF MEN LIKE OBI, BUT EMBASSY FEELS CONSTRAINED POINT OUT IT PROBABLE THAT AT LEAST AS MANY IBOS LIVING AT PRESENT IN FEDERALLY CONTROLLED AREA AS IN ENCLAVE. THIS INCLUDES 30 TO 40,000 IBOS LIVING PEACEABLY IN LAGOS AREA, AND IT REMAINS BE SEEN HOW MUCH EFFECT AZIKIWE'S DEFECTION WILL HAVE. FMG AMNESTY, AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, IS ALL INCLUSIVE, WITH POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OJUKWU. GP-3.

OLSON
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By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S

I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

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LAGOS

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1969 SEP 12 PM 5 54

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Geographic

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MilRep 0
Digest 0
Task Force 0

AF 5 **X5**
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10 **10**
NEA 8

ACDA 5
AID 12

Functional

Principals and "S" Area

CU 0
E 2
H 0
INR 6 **6**
IO 4
L 2
O 3
OPR 0
OC 0
SY 0
WLG 0

TRSY 6
FRB 0
EXIM 0
BOB 0
CEA 0
COM 2
STR 0
TAR 0
WHRE 0

ES 6
S 6
U 6
J 6
D 6
C 6
S/PC 2 **2**

P 0
S/PRS 0
SCA 0
VO 0
SCS 0
SCI 0

AGR 3
LAB 0
HEW 0
INT 0

S/CPR 0
S/FW 0
S/GOV 0
S/IL 0

Other

S/PM 0
S/R 0
U/CF 0
U/PW 0
J/PM 0
D/WP 0
U/UCS 0

WH 10 **10**
VP 0
DOD 0
CIA P
USIA 4
PC 0

TRANS 0
CAB 0
AEC 3
NASA 0
JUS 0
FBI 0
NIC 0
NSA 0
File 0
Burned 0 8/5/69

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Authority VND959503
By MM NARA Date 10/5/05

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INDICATE:
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

Department of State P 0 L 27-9 BIA-RA

TELEGRAM

NIGERIA

12 SEP 69 17 59z

154685

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: US Mission GENEVA

STATE _____

FOR GUTMAN

fourteenth,
 Davidson arriving Sunday, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ 1015 am,
 TWA 830. Request reservation Drake or Balzac.

END

ROGERS

154685

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:RADavidson <i>RD</i>	DRAFTING DATE 9/12/69	TEL. EXT. 22033	APPROVED BY: U/CF:RADavidson <i>RD</i>
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CLEARANCES:

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FORM FS-413
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 By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



Pol 27-9 Biafra Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION: AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01,

PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, PC 04, ACDA 16, RSR 01, 170 W
007508

P R 121648Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2774
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

C O N F I D E N T I A L COPENHAGEN 3550

SUBJ: NIGERIA RELIEF - ICRC AIRLIFT

REF: STATE 152748 Pol 27-9 B-7

1. EMBOFF NOTIFIED THUNE ANDERSEN OF FONOFF SEP 10 OF U.S. STATEMENT ON AGREEMENT TO RESUME RELIEF FLIGHTS AND NATURE OF PLANNED U.S. APPROACH TO BIAFRAN REP GENEVA. ON SEP 11 THUNE ANDERSEN PREPARED PUBLIC STATEMENT FOR FONMIN HARTLING'S APPROVAL BUT AS OF 1500 SEP 12 HARTLING HAS NOT YET HAD TIME LOOK AT IT. STATEMENT (TEXT BELOW) WILL NOT BE RELEASED, HOWEVER, UNTIL FMG SIGNS AGREEMENT WITH ICRC WHICH THUNE ANDERSEN BELIEVES HAS NOT BEEN DONE YET. WHEN STATEMENT APPROVED AND ISSUED, FONOFF WILL IMMEDIATELY INFORM DANISH EMB WASHINGTON WHO WILL IN TURN NOTIFY AMB FERGUSON'S OFFICE.

2. ASKED IF DANES WILL MAKE APPROACH TO BIAFRANS SIMILAR TO THAT MADE BY U.S. (WE HAVE NOT RECEIVED CONFIRMATION THAT APPROACH MADE), THUNE ANDERSEN STATED THAT BIAFRANS WANT

RECOGNITION, EVEN INDIRECT RECOGNITION, AND THUS DANES AVOIDING ANY MOVE WHICH MIGHT BE SO INTERPRETED.

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HE ALSO TOOK PARTICULAR CARE TO REFER VAGUELY TO "LEADERSHIP IN BIAFRA" IN STATEMENT HE DRAFTED.

3. STATEMENT AS ROUGHLY TRANSLATED BY THUNE ANDERSEN FOLLOWS:
QTE THE NEWS THAT HAS BEEN RECEIVED THAT THE ICRC HAS BEEN ABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH BOTH THE FMG AND THE LEADERSHIP IN BIAFRA CONCERNING DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS TO THE BIAFRA AREA AND THAT THESE FLIGHTS WILL START IN THE NEXT 24 HOURS IS GREETED WITH GREAT SATISFACTION.

QTE WE HOPE THAT THE ICRC WILL EVENTUALLY BE ABLE TO TAKE UP THE RELIEF WORK OF TRANSPORTING FOODSTUFFS AND MEDICINES TO THE SAME EXTENT AS BEFORE.

QTE IT IS OUR HOPE THAT POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS ON THE HUMANITARIAN SIDE OF WHICH THE AGREEMENTS ARE PROOF WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE REMOVAL OF MUTUAL BITTERNESS AND IN THAT WAY CONTRIBUTE TO THE PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT. END QTE. GP-3
DUDLEY

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Pol 27-9 Biafra Nigeria
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PAGE 01 OTTAWA 01317 122327Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, UCF 05,
UPW 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, PC 04, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01, 160 W
----- 007592

R 122315Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5150
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY OSLO

C O N F I D E N T I A L OTTAWA 1317

REF: OTTAWA 1307

SUBJ: NIGERIA RELIEF ICRC AIRLIFT

1. EMBASSY INFORMED THAT GOC DOES NOT PLAN ISSUE ANY
PUBLIC STATEMENT CONCERNING RESUMPTION DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS.
CANADIANS DO NOT BELIEVE SITUATION WARRANTS OPTIMISTIC
STATEMENT SUCH AS THAT ISSUED BY NORWEGIAN GOVT (OSLO
3631). NOR DOES GOC PLAN PUBLICIZE APPROACH TO OBI.

2. INSTRUCTIONS FOR ORAL DEMARCHE TO OBI BY GOC GENEVA
REP BORROWED EXTENSIVELY FROM LANGUAGE OF STATE 152748.
SCHMIDT

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*Stamps 1317
9/12/69*

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Pol 27-9 Biafra. Nigeria
Department of State

TELEGRAM

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ACTION AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00,

JPM 04, NSC 10, SS 20, RSC 01, L 03, H 02, P 03, INR 07, AID 28, UCF 05,

UPW 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, PC 04, NEA 13, RSR 01, 156 W
005217

P R 121725Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5141
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L OTTAWA 1307

SUBJ: NIGERIA RELIEF - ICRC AIRLIFT

REF: (A) OTTAWA 1295 (B) STATE 152748

EXAFF SENT MESSAGE THIS MORNING INSTRUCTING CANADIAN
REPRESENTATIVE GENEVA TO MAKE APPROACH ASAP TO OBI ALONG
LINES MADE BY US. CANADIAN HICOM LAGOS ALSO INSTRUCTED
TO INFORM FMG OF CANADIAN APPROACH IN GENEVA.
SCHMIDT

Ottawa 1307
9/12/69

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

XR SOC 3 RED CROSS

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52
ACTION: AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, UCF 05, UPW 01

SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, E 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04,

H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, RSRI 01

/172: W

003637

O 121245Z SEP 69 ZFF-6.
FM AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1697
INFO AMEMBASSY COTONOU IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L ISTANBUL 1390

SUBJ: NIGERIA RELIEF: DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

REF: (A) LAGOS 8206 (NOTAL) (B) STATE 13781 (C) GENEVA 3528
AND 3257 (D) STATE 153981 (E) LAGOS 8205 (F) PARIS 13820

1. BIGNAMI MESSAGE (REF A) PASSED TO NAVILLE THIS MORNING
BY SIEVERTS, ALONG WITH SUBSTANCE OF OTHER REFTELS. NAVILLE
OF COURSE STRONGLY HOPES FMG WILL SIGN TODAY, WHICH BRITISH
HERE ALSO BELIEVE IS LIKELY. NAVILLE WOULD LIKE FLIGHTS
ACTUALLY TO START BEFORE RED CROSS CONFERENCE ADJOURNS
SATURDAY, AND IF THEY DON'T (AS SEEMS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN
ROM TRAFFIC) WILL NONETHELESS TRY TO MAKE POSITIVE
STATEMENT ON SUBJECT IN CLOSING PLENARY, SO THAT SCANS
AND OTHER DELEGATIONS WILL NOT ARRIVE HOME WITH PESSIMISTIC
COMMENTS TO THEIR PRESS AND HOME CONSTITUENCIES. FMG
SIGNATURE WOULD PROVIDE HANDLE FOR THIS AND THUS WOULD BE
MOST WELCOME TODAY.

2. TEXT OF REF A WAS SLIGHTLY GARBLED. WE ASSUME SECOND
SENTENCE MEANS FMG MIGHT HAVE DIFFICULTIES CONTACTING

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PAGE 02 ISTANB 01390 121316Z

PRESIDENT OF DAHOMEY TO GET CLEARANCE FOR FLIGHT RESUMPTION,
AND DOES NOT REPEAT NOT MEAN GOWAN IS IN DAHOMEY AND HARD
TO REACH. RE DAHOMEY CLEARANCE, NAVILLE SAID HE RECEIVED
ASSURANCE FROM FOREIGN MINISTER SCHUMANN IN PARIS THAT
HE WOULD INTERCEDE SWIFTLY IF NECESSARY TO OBTAIN COTONOU
FLIGHT CLEARANCE.
HECK

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03281 121943Z

87

ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, NEA 13, TO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, 9

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12

AID 28, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, 163 W
006220

P R 121930Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2926
AMEMBASSY PARIS
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3281

SUBJECT NIGERIA

REFERENCE STATE 1539111 GENEVA 3254

STATE FOR U/CF

WE LEARNED FROM BASSET THAT HE HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH QUAI
FOR LAST FEW DAYS. QUAI HAD TALKED TO BIAFRANS BUT ENCOUNTERED
SAME TYPE OPPOSITION PUT UP BY OBI IN GENEVA. IN FURTHER
CONVERSATION BASSET CONFIRMED AMEMBASSY PARIS REPORT THAT
GOF CONSIDERING MAKING STATEMENT. HOWEVER, BASSET CONCERNED
THAT STATEMENT MAY BE SO "ONE-SIDED" AS TO CAUSE AS MANY PROBLEMS
AS IT MAY ALLAY.
TUBBY

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9-12-69

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03279 121939Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, NEA 13, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, 9-1269

AID 28, PC 04, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAF 00, GENEVA-3279

NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, SSR 01, ACDA 16, /182 W
006198

P R 121850Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2924
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY ISTANBUL

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 3279

SUBJ: NIGERIA

STATE FOR U/CF

WE UNDERSTAND FROM JCA THAT NAF HAS BEEN NIGHT BOMBING ULI WITH
SOME SUCCESS OVER PERIOD LAST SEVEN DAYS. SEVERAL RELIEF FLIGHTS
HAD TO TURN BACK ALTHOUGH MAJORITY WERE ABLE LAND EVERY NIGHT.
TUBBY

0 LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 4

0798

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 03282 121940Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, AF 12, EUR 17, RSR 01, RSC 01, /050 W
006210

P 121859Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2927

UNCLAS GENEVA 3282

SUBJ: NIGERIA

FOR U/CF/DEWEY

FOLLOWING TELEX RECEIVED FROM JCA:

QUOTE: MR. KENNEY FROM SAO TOME HAS ASKED US TO LOOK INTO THE
POSSIBILITIES OF RETREADING C-97G NOSE WHEEL TIRES (THIRTY
INCHES BY TWELVE PLY) IN EUROPE. A CONTACT IN AMSTERDAM HAS
INVESTIGATED POSSIBILITIES IN BELGIUM AND NETHERLANDS ONLY TO
BE TOLD BY TIRE MANUFACTURERS THAT MOULDS ARE NOT AVAILABLE
AND IN THEIR OPINION THEY WOULD HAVE TO BE DONE IN THE USA.
PLEASE ADVISE RE POSSIBILITIES IN GERMANY OR OTHER PLACES.
END QUOTE.
TUBBY

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GENEVA-3282
9-12-69

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 593

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03283 121937Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 08

CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03

RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, PC 04, RSR 01, 166 W
006176

R 121900Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2928
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA WEPW
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3283

SUBJ: NIGERIA

REF: THE HAGUE 3238

STATE FOR UYCF

1. ITALIAN MISSION MEMBER CALLED ON US TODAY TO TOUR NIGERIAN/
BIAFRAN HORIZON. HE MENTIONED HAVING JUST RECEIVED CONFIDENTIAL
CABLE FROM ITALIAN EMBASSY IN THE HAGUE SAYING GON HAS CONSID-
ERABLE DOUBTS ICRC NEGOTIATING TACTICS AND WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT
MAKE STATEMENT. DUTCH AMBASSADOR IN GENEVA AS OF THIS NOON HAD
TOLD ITALIAN DELEGATE THAT SHE STILL WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS.

2. COMMENT: THIS CONFIRMS REFTEL REPORT FROM THE HAGUE.
TUBBY

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9-12-69

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 588

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ACTION: AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, UCF 05, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, EUR 17, NSA 02, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20,

USIA 12, LS 02, RSR 01, 154 W

002302

O P 120830Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2396
USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL COTONOU 928

FOLLOWING FOR BIGNAMI FROM STURZENEGGER:

1. "PRIMO: HIER SOIR AEROPORT COO A RECU TETEX SUIVANT DU
CAPT. DICKSON, CDT. AERODROME LOS QUOTE ACFT SE-ERF NOW
LOADING FOR TAKE OFF NOT TO PROCEED DIRECT ULI/INITIALA
OTHERWISE ACFT WILL BE DESTROYED INSTRUCTIONS FROM NAF
UNQUOTE."

2. "SECUNDO: PRIERE INFORMER SANS DELAY AUTORITEES NIG.
COMPETENTES INCL. NAF EN PRECISANT QU'AUCUN AVION
SUEDOIS EST PREVU POUR OPERATION 21 JOURS."

3. "TERTIO: POUR VOTRE PROPRE INFORMATION AVION SE-ERF
DONT FAIT MENTION TELEX CAPT. DICKSON EST ACTUELLEMENT
BASE COO POUR CONTINUER SERIE DE VOLS COO - STE SUIVANT
ACCORD CICR/JCA ET N'A RIEN AFAIRE AVEC PREPARATIONS
EMERGENCY FLIGHTS STOP."
LOORAM

CONFIDENTIAL

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XR DEF 12-5 BIAFRA
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PAGE 01 LIBREV 00933 120953Z

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ACTION: AF 18

INFO OCT 01, NSA 02, IO 13, EUR 17, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01,

CIAE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20,

USIA 12, UCF 05, UPW 01, RSR 01, 158 W

002421

R 120745Z SEP 69

FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

TO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2804

DIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 933

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE BIAFRAN AIRLIFT AIRCRAFT

REF: USDAO ABIDJAN 0448 SEPT 69

1. CHECKED REPORTED DEPARTURE SUBJECT AIRCRAFT WITH
LIBREVILLE CONTROL TOWER WHICH HAD NO RPT NO RECORD
AIRCRAFT PRESENCE HERE SEPTEMBER 3. POSSIBLE, HOWEVER,
MOVEMENTS AIRCRAFT INVOLVED BIAFRA AIRLIFT NOT RECORDED
BY CIVILIAN CONTROLLED TOWER.

2. WE HAVE NEVER SEEN SUBJECT AIRCRAFT IN OUR TWICE-
DAILY OBSERVATIONS OF AIRPORT.
FUNKHOUSER

(2)

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Department of State ^{NR} DEF 12-5 BIAFRA
TELEGRAM

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ACTION E 15

INFO: OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, MC 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07,

LI 03, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, IO 13,

ACDA 16, RSR 01, 145 W

004514

R 121515Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2806

SECRET LIBREVILLE 938

SUBJECT: BIAFRA ARMS AIRLIFT

REC STATE 154371 / POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

1. WE ARE PUZZLED BY CAS REPORT PARA 2 REFTEL WHICH SUGGESTS THERE ONLY ONE OR TWO AIRCRAFT INVOLVED IN ARMS AIRLIFT TO BIAFRA, NEITHER OF WHICH OPERATING OUT OF LIBREVILLE. IN OUR WEEKLY SUMMARIES OF PRESUMED BIAFRA AIRLIFT ACTIVITY, WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY REPORTED THAT WE BELIEVE THERE IS CONSIDERABLE ARMS TRAFFIC PASSING THROUGH LIBREVILLE. OUR PRESUMPTIONS HAVE BEEN BASED ON THE FACT THAT THE VARIOUS AIRCRAFT (SEE OUR RECENT WEEKLY SUMMARIES) HAVE BEEN OPERATING OUT OF THE MILITARY AREA OF LIBREVILLE AIRPORT AS OPPOSED THE CIVILIAN AREA WHERE WE HAVE OBSERVED THE RELIEF CARRIERS.

2. WE MAY HAVE BEEN FOOLED, AND THE PLANES OPERATING OUT OF THE MILITARY AREA MAY, IN FACT, BE SIMPLY RELIEF CARRIERS. WE WOULD, HOWEVER, APPRECIATE RECEIVING ANY INFO AVAILABLE TO THE DEPARTMENT THAT WOULD EITHER CONFIRM OR REFUTE OUR PRESUMPTIONS ON THE ARMS AND RELIEF AIRLIFT FROM LIBREVILLE, AND HOW THE LIBREVILLE AIRLIFT FITS INTO THE WHOLE BIAFRAN AIRLIFT PICTURE.
FUNKHOUSER

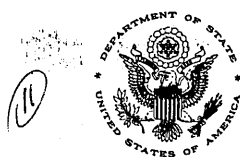
SECRET

Libreville 938
9-12-69

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



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ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, UCF 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 01

HI 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01

ORM 03, RSR 01, 152 W

002415

RI 120745Z SEP 69

FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2803

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 932

DEPT. REPEAT AS DESIRED

SUBJECT: INCREASED FRENCH RED CROSS FLIGHTS TO BIAFRA

FRENCH AMBASSADOR DELAUNEY INFORMED ME SEPTEMBER 10
THAT FRENCH RED CROSS NIGHT FLIGHTS TO BIAFRA WOULD
BE DOUBLED TO TWICE NIGHTLY IN VIEW OF MOUNTING
STARVATION. TWO TRANSPORTS HAVE BEEN PUT ON RUN.
ALL RECEIVING CENTERS FOR BIAFRAN CHILDREN HERE ARE
WORKING AT CAPACITY. 244 CHILDREN AT MILITARY HOSPITAL
LIBREVILLE AWAITING ONWARD MOVEMENT WHEN EVER SPACE FOUND.
GP-3
FUNKHOUSER

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, NEA 13, O 13, RSR 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00,

USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01,

UPW 01, E 15, DOT 12, 178 W

006223

P R 121950Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2925
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LISBON
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3280

SUBJECT NIGERIA

STATE FOR U/CF

1. ACCORDING VOA STRINGER NORDIC RED CROSS SOCIETIES HAVE REQUESTED ICRC IN ISTANBUL TO TURN PLANES AND SUPPLIES OVER TO ICRC.

2. ACCORDING ANOTHER RUMOR (RETAILED BY JCA-PROTECT) NEW US GROUP TRYING ENTER RELIEF FLIGHT OPERATIONS (SOURCE HAD NO DETAILS RE IDENTITY) AND WAS RECEIVING ACTIVE ASSISTANCE FROM AMEMBASSY LISBON IN PRESSURING PORTUGUESE FOR SAO TOME AIR- BASE FACILITIES.
TUBBY

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By MVA Date 10/3/05



8027-1 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, UPW 01, UCF 05, RSR 01,

157 W

002613

O 121010Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6991
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 13829

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF: ICRC FLIGHTS

QUAI DIRECTOR AFRICA/MIDEAST LEBEL TOLD CHARGE SEPTEMBER 12 THAT GOF HAS SENT TELEGRAM THROUGH LIBREVILLE TO BIAFRANS ON QUESTION SECURITY GUARANTEES. GOF HAS TOLD BIAFRANS THAT TYPE GUARANTEES THEY ARE SEEKING NOT POLITICALLY IN THE CARDS, BUT THAT GOF PREPARED ISSUE STATEMENT ALONG LINES INDICATED PARIS 13732 IF THIS ACTION CONSIDERED HELPFUL BY BIAFRANS. MESSAGE HAS BEEN TRANSMITTED TO OWERRI BUT NO REPLY YET RECEIVED.

GP-3
BLAKE

NOTE: SYSTEM FOR CCO

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

(21)



POL 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 964

PAGE 01 HELSIN 00936 122344Z

92
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01,

PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, PC 04, RSR 01, UCF 05, 159 W

007662

R 121612Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1857
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L HELSINKI 936

SUBJ: NIGERIA RELIEF - ICRC AIRLIFT

REF: HELSINKI 928

FOREIGN OFFICE SOURCE MENTIONED REFTEL INFORMED EMBASSY
TODAY THAT FINNISH GOVERNMENT IS AUTHORIZING AMBASSADOR
TALVITIE IN GENEVA TO PASS WORD TO BIAFRAN REPS VIA THE
ICRC OR DIRECTLY THAT FINNISH GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS DAYLIGHT
AIRLIFT AGREEMENT AN IMPORTANT MATTER AND THAT IT WOULD BE
DEEPLY CONCERNED IF OTHER THAN HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS PREVENT-
ED EARLY IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENT. GP-3.
PETERSON.

CONFIDENTIAL

77

0807

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

37



SECRET - LIMDIS

PDL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
154686

Classification

Department of State

TELEGRAM

INDICATE:

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ACTION: USMission GENEVA

INFO: Amembassy BONN, LAGOS, PARIS, ROME
STATE LIMDIS AMconsul FRANKFURT,
FOR GUTMAN STUTTGART

SUBJECT: Davidson assignment

1. Since purpose Davidson TDY Geneva will be continue Gutman duties, namely daylight flight discussions, Cross River background, liaison with ICRC, JCA and other organizations and governmental representatives working on relief question, you should therefore inform Nigerian, Biafran representatives as well as ICRC and JCA officials of Davidson's assignment. Monday can be used for introductions as well as transfer of duties.

END

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:RADavidson

DRAFTING DATE: 9/12/69

TEL. EXT. 22033

APPROVED BY: U/CF:ADewey

CLEARANCES:

(7)

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FORM FS-413
4-68

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37



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 385

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03275 121807Z

43
ACTION SS 70INFO OCT 01, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, /071 W
005427

O R 121745Z SEP 69 ZFF4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2920
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 3275

LIMDIS

SUBJECT NIGERIA

REFERENCE LAGOS 8219

STATE FOR U/CF

FREYMOND JUST CALLED (1630) U/CF REP AND IN 20 MINUTE CONVERSATION MADE FOLLOWING MAIN POINTS IN MOST AGITATED FASHION:

1. HE EXPRESSED GRAVEST CONCERN OVER NEW DELAY, NOW TO SATURDAY FOR FMG SIGNATURE ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHT AGREEMENT. HE EXPRESSED BELIEF "ENAHORO PLAYING GAMES" AS HE AWARE THAT SATURDAY LAST DAY ISTANBUL CONFERENCE. FREYMOND OPINED FMG ENCOURAGED BY "REINFORCEMENT ITS POSITION IN ADDIS" WAS TRYING NAVIGATE AROUND ISTANBUL CLIFF.

2. NAVILLE MUST REPEAT MUST MAKE STATMENT TOMORROW NIGHT IN ISTANBUL AS INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS SOCIETIES, ESPECIALLY SCANDINAVIANS, ABSOLUTELY INSIST BE INFORMED ICRC POSITION PRIOR DEPARTING ISTANBUL.

3. IF FMG SIGNATURE NOT REPEAT NOT OBTAINED BY TOMORROW

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Geneva 3275-
9-12-69

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03275 121807Z

(SEPTEMBER 13) EVENING NAVILLE WILL MAKE STATEMENT IN ISTANBUL ESSENTIALLY ALONG LINES GENEVA 3128 (NOTAL, I.E. (1) ICRC WILL CONTINUE TRADITIONAL ACTIVITIES IN FMG AREA; (2) RELIEF SUPPLIES STORED COTONOU AND SISTABEL WILL BE DISPOSED OF IN ACCORDANCE DONORS INSTRUCTIONS, AND (3) ICRC STANDS READY TAKE UP OPERATIONS WHEN CONDITIONS PERMIT. NOTE WE EXPECT LATER TONIGHT TRANSMIT ICRC INSTRUCTIONS TO BIGNAMI WHICH PROBABLY WILL CONTAIN FULL TEXT.

4. NAVILLE STATEMENT TO RED CROSS WOULD BE MADE PUBLIC ONLY ON MONDAY.

5. UNLESS ICRC TAKES DECISIVE ACTION IN CASE FMG SIGNATURE NOT OBTAINED TOMORROW, IT WOULD COMPLETELY DESTROY ITS REMAINING PUBLIC IMAGE. ICRC'S FUTURE CANNOT BE PERMITTED TO DEPEND ON "TYPES LIKE ENAHORO WHO HAS BEEN LEADING BIGNAMI BY NOSE" SINCE HE RETURNED FROM ADDIS. ANY FURTHER DELAYS WOULD SIMPLY FURTHER WEAKEN ICRC PRESTIGE.

6. HEI (FREYMOND) HAS COMMUNICATED FOREGOING TO NAVILLE AND RESTATED THAT HE WOULD BE AS ADAMANT IN HIS POSITION AS ENAHORO APPEARS TO BE.

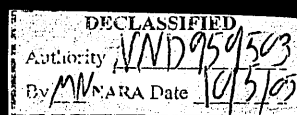
7. ICRC WILL FLY AS SOON AS LAGOS SIGNATURE RECEIVED BUT NOT REPEAT NOT WITHOUT IT. IF BIAFRA REJECTS PROPOSAL CATEGORICALLY, ICRC WILL RELEASE STATEMENT TO THIS EFFECT BUT FLY NEVER- THELESS IN ORDER FORCE ENTIRE WORLD WITNESS BIAFRANS TURNING BACK RELIEF PLANES WHILE THEIR PEOPLE STARVE. IF BIAFRANS CONTINUE OVER PERIOD OF DAYS TO DENY LANDING RIGHTS TO PLANES, ICRC WILL PUBLISH ADDITIONAL STATEMENT MAKING BIAFRAN POSITION MATTER OF HISTORICAL RECORD. (NOTE THIS CHANGE FROM EARLIER POSITION WHICH LIMITED FLIGHTS TO BIAFRAN REPLY ALONG LINES NEXT PARA)

8. IF BIAFRANS DO NOT REPLY OR COME UP WITH CAVEATS, ICRC WILL FLY AND SEE WHAT HAPPENS. (LAGOS SIGNATURE, OF COURSE, REMAINS PRECONDITION FOR PARAGRAPHS 7 AND 8.)

9. FREYMOND IS DEPARTING GENEVA TOMORROW TO CONTINUE HOLIDAY IN SOUTHERN FRANCE. TO EXTENT THAT NAVILLE IN ANY MANNER DEVIATES FROM FOREGOING SCENARIOS, IT WILL BE ENTIRELY HIS OWN DECISION AND COMPLETE HIS OWN RESPONSIBILITY. HE (FREYMOND)

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0810





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 03275 121807Z

THEN WOULD "DISAPPEAR FROM SCENE." IN REPLY TO "BON VOYAGE WISHES" FREYMOND SAID, "IT IS BETTER SO, HOUSE LED BY TWO HEADS HAS HARD TIME FUNCTIONS."

10. COMMENT: EVIDENTLY SATURDAY (THIRTEENTH) WILL BE YET ANOTHER DAY OF TRUTH. FREYMOND DEFINITELY CONVEYED IMPRESSION THAT ICRC HAWKS (HIS FACTION) AND DOVES (RE NAVILLE) ARE "AT IT AGAIN." IT ALMOST APPEARED AS IF NAVILLE MAY BE TRYING DELAY FINAL ICRC DECISION A FEW MORE DAYS IN ORDER EXHAUST EVERY CONCEIVABLE POSSIBILITY BEFORE THROWING IN SPONGE. FREYMOND ON OTHER HAND WANTS IMMEDIATE FUNERAL IF FMG DOES NOT COME THROUGH BY TOMORROW NIGHT PROBABLY TO DEMONSTRATE TO COMMITTEE HIS "I TOLD YOU SO" FARSIGHTEDNESS. TUBBY

NOTE: SYSTEMS FOR CCO.

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L I M D I S
I N C O M I N G

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SERIAL **3275**

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20 SEP 12 PM 3 59

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Principals and
"S" Area

ES
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J
D
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S/PC **2**

S/CPR
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S/PM
S/R **X1**
U/CF
U/PW
J/PM **3-3**
D/WP
U/UCS

Geographic

AF **5**
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

Functional

CU
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Other

WH 10 **10**
VP
DOD **P**
CIA **P**
USIA 4 **P**
PC

Other

ACDA 5
AID 12

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 466

PAGE 01 GENEVA 03278 121850Z

50
ACTION SS: 70

INFO OCT 01, SSO: 00, NSCE: 00, USIE: 00, CIAE: 00, CCO: 00, 071 W
005780

O R 121810Z SEP 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC 2923
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3278

L I M D I S

SUBJ: NIGERIA/ICRC FLIGHTS

REF: GENEVA 3275

1. ICRC REQUESTS THAT FOLLOWING BE URGENTLY PASSED TO BIGNAMI
FROM FREYMOND:

QUOTE: PRIMO: VOUS TRANSMETTONS TEXTE D'UN COMMUNIQUE A DIFFUSER
DANS CAS NON SIGNATURE DU GMF OU DE DELAI DANS AL MISE AU POINT
DES CONDITIONS TECHNIQUES (AIR FORCE) STOP SERA COMMUNIQUE SAMDI
SOIR AUX SOCIETES NATIONALES SCANDINAVES A ISTANBUL ET REMIS A LA
PRESSE LUNDI A GENEVA QUOTE APRES DES SEMAINES DE NEGOCIATIONS
D'ATTENTE ET DE PATIENCE LE COMITE INTERNATIONAL DE LA CROIX
ROUGE DOIT RECONNAITRE A SON GRAND REGRET QU'IL NE LUI A PAS
ETE POSSIBLE D'OBTENIR DU GOUVERNEMENT MILITAIRE FEDERAL DU
NIGERIA LA SIGNATURE DE L'ACCORD AUTORISANT LE PONT AERIEN
DIURNE QUI DOIT ACHEMINER DES SECOURS AU BIAFRA EN EFFECT DIX
JOURS APRES AVOIR MIS AU POINT AVEC LES AUTORITES DU NIGERIA UN
ACCORD DONT IL ETAIT ASSURE QUE LA SIGNATURE N'ETAIT PLUS QU'UNE
FORMALITE LE CICR CONSTATE QUE SES DEMARCHES N'ONT PAS PROGRESSE
ET QU'IL N'A PAS OBTENU LES ASSURANCES QUI LUI PERMETTRAIENT DE
DONNER L'ORDRE DE COMMENCER LES VOLS DANS CES CONDITIONS LE CICR
DONT L'ACTION DE SECOURS EN DIRECTION DU BIAFRA A ETE INTER-
ROMPUE ALORS QUE LLELLE APPORTAIT UN APPUI EFFICACE A UN MILLION ET
DEMI DE PERSONNES A POUR DEVOIR D'INFORMER L'OPINION PUBLIQUE DE

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03278 121850Z

L'ECHEC - PEUT-ETRE MOMENTANE - DE SES NEGOCIATIONS. IL A DONC
ETC AMENE A PRENDRE LES DISPOSITIONS SUIVANTES:

1. EN CE QUI CONCERNE LES TERRITOIRES CONTROLES PAR L'ARMEE
FEDERALE: DE POURSUIVRE SON ACTION CONFORMEMENT AUX ACCORDS
PASSES AVEC LE GMF DU NIGERIA, DANS L'ESPRIT DU COMMUNIQUE CONJOINT
DU 12 JUILLET, ET CONFORMEMENT AUX DISPOSITIONS DE LA IV^e
CONVENTION;

2. EN CE QUI CONCERNE LES STOCKS ET LES MOYENS MIS A DISPOSITION
POUR LES POPULATIONS SITUEES EN TERRITOIRE DIABRAIS: DE LES
DISTRIBUER CONFORMEMENT A L'INTENTION ET AUX INSTRUCTIONS DES
DONATEURS;

3. D'INFORMER LES PARTIES AU CONFLIT QU'IL EST PRET A REPRENDRE
(POURSUIVRE) LES NEGOCIATIONS EN VUE DE L'ACHEMINEMENT DE SECOURS
AU BIAFRA ET QU'IL A PREVU LES MESURES NECESSAIRES POUR FAIRE
FACE A CETTE EVENTUALITE UNQUOTE PAR CONSEQUENT VEUILLEZ
INFORMER ISTANBUL ET GENEVE SIMULTANEMENT SI SIGNATURE A ETE
APPOSEE OUI OU NON.

SECONDE: AVONS ETE INFORMES QUE L'AVION SUEDOIS SE-ERF NE GOIT PAS
VOLER SUR IULI CAR SERAIT ABATTU STOP PRIERE INFORMER AUTORITES
NEGERAINES COMPETENTES QU'AUUCUN AVION SUEDOIS N'EST PREVU POUR
L'OPERATION DE 21 JOURS. ENI QUOTE.
TUBBY

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0814

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L I M D I S

I N C O M I N G

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POST **GENEVA**

SERIAL **3278**

(Time Received)

1969 SEP 12 PM 5 59

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT **390**

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Geographic

Other

S/S-S *10*
S/S-O *10*
S/S-Screener *3*
S/S-EX
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S/S-O DIR
MilRep
Digest
Task Force

AF 5 *5*
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

ACDA 5
AID 12

Functional

Principals and
"S" Area

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CIA *P*
USIA 4 *P*
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J/PM *3*
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U/UCS

8/5/69

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 835

PAGE 01 LISBON 01959 130833Z

21
ACTION: E 15

INFO: OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, DOT 12,

MC 02, IO 13, RSR 01, 141 W

010350

RI 121620Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3724
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

SECRET LISBON 1959

SUBJ: BIAFRA ARMS LIFT

REF: STATE 154371

1. EMBASSY INFORMED GOV DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL OF CIVIL AVIATION (DGCA) THAT US OWNER OF CONSTELLATION N-7666C WHICH NOW OR RECENTLY IN LISBON SEEKS RETURN OF AIRCRAFT SINCE LEASEE VIOLATED CONDITIONS OF LEASE. DGCA SAID HE HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF AIRCRAFT BUT WOULD DETERMINE FOR EMBASSY WHETHER IT IS OR HAS BEEN IN LISBON AND PROPOSED DESTINATION IF IT NOW HERE.

2. EMBASSY BELIEVES AIRCRAFT IN LISBON AND IS ATTEMPTING CONFIRM THROUGH OTHER CHANNELS.
KNIGHT
BT

SECRET

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 320

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08730 301815Z

54
ACTION: UCF 05

INFO: OCT 01, AF 12, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, EUR 17, AID 28, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01,

PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, IO 13, UPW 01, RSR 01, 150 W
115871

P 301730Z SEP 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9249

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 8730

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF: DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS

1. BIGNAMI (ICRC) HAS BEEN SPECULATING WITH US ON STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL BASIS ABOUT POSSIBLE WAYS AND MEANS BREAKING IMPASSE WITH BIAFRANS ON ICRC DAYLIGHT FLIGHT PROPOSAL. ONE SUGGESTION HE TOYING WITH IS POSSIBILITY PLACING OBSERVER(S) AT ULI AIRPORT IN HOPES THAT THIS WILL SOMEHOW MEET BIAFRAN SECURITY AGREEMENT. HE WONDERED IF US BE PREPARED, IF BOTH PARTIES AGREE, TO STATION A MILITARY OBSERVER AT ULI. (OBVIOUSLY THIS IDEA AN EFFORT SUBSTITUTE TO SOME EXTENT FOR US GUARANTEE BIAFRANS HAVE SOUGHT.) WE EXPRESSED SERIOUS DOUBTS THAT US WOULD WISH TO PROVIDE SUCH MILITARY OBSERVER AND SUGGESTED THAT CANADIANS IN LIGHT THEIR EXPERIENCE IN PEACE KEEPING OPERATIONS AND APPARENT PREPAREDNESS PLAY SUCH ROLE IN NIGERIAN SITUATION WOULD BE BETTER CHOICE. TO PROVIDE US OBSERVER WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE POLITICALLY RESPONSIVE TO REBLES.

2. BIGNAMI HAS ASKED US (PROTECT SOURCE) FOR IDEAS AS TO WHAT TERMS OF REFERENCE SUCH OBSERVER MIGHT BE. APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE. OUR REACTION IS THAT OBJECTIVE OF PROPOSING OBSERVER WOULD BE TO MEET BIAFRANS COMPLAINT ABOUT SECURITY WITHOUT AT SAME TIME CREATING SITUATION UNACCEPTABLE TO FMG. WE WOULD THINK, THEREFORE, BEST LIMIT TERMS REFERENCE TO NORMAL OBSERVER ROLE OF INDEPENDENT AND OBJECTIVE REPORTING MILITARY ACTIONS EITHER SIDE DURING PREDETERMINED HOURS REBEL USE. THIS IN ITSELF SHOULD CONSTITUTE

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08730 301815Z

DETERRENT TO UNACCEPTABLE ACTIONS BY EITHER SIDE AND WOULD BE EXTENSION CONCEPT WE SUGGESTED EARLIER OF PUTTING CANADIAN OBSERVER ABOARD RELIEF AIRCRAFT FLYING INTO ULI.

3. BIGNAMI ALSO CONTEMPLATING REDUCING NUMBER OF PLANES IN PLACE AT COTONOU BECAUSE OF PROBLEMS CREW MORALE AND HIGH COST. HE WOULD PLAN TO LEAVE THREE OR FOUR PLANES READY TO FLY BUT BEFORE TAKING SUCH STEP WONDERED IF US BE PREPARED FURNISH AIRCRAFT ON SHORT NOTICE IF DAYLIGHT AIRLIFT FINALLY GOES INTO OPERATION. WE EXPRESSED VIEW US BE PREPARED TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE THIS END BUT SAID THAT WE WOULD OF COURSE HAVE TO CONSULT. HE ASKED US TO KEEP THIS AS WELL AS OBSERVER SUGGESTION IN CONFIDENCE. HE ALSO CONTEMPLATING GOING TO SWEDEN TO SEE IF THEY COULD PROVIDE AIRCRAFT ON SHORT NOTICE GP-3.
OLSON

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10/1/69

Systematic declassification review of material in this folder
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3/19/96 BM

(Date and Reviewer's Initials)

The remaining material was declassified as of that date.

0819

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31

SECRET

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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38 B

6 Nov 69 22 237

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LONDON PRIORITY
" ADDIS ABABA
" PARIS
USMission GENEVA
USUN

Please disregard reference cited in State 183414.

Pol 27-9 B-7

188190

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: GB DRAFTING DATE: 11/6/69 TEL. EXT.: 23321 APPROVED BY: GB
AF/SN:GBSherry:ba CLEARANCES: AF/SN - George B. Sherry

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Classification

FORM DS-322
4-68

0820

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Authority: VND 954503
By: MN NARA Date: 10/5/05

66

CONFIDENTIAL

RSIR
JL

OCT 61969

TO : The Secretary

THROUGH: S/S

FROM : AF - David D. Newsom

SUBJECT: "International Committee of Conscience" Recommendation
that Helicopters and Aircraft Carrier be used in
Nigerian-Biafran Relief Efforts - INFORMATION MEMORANDUM

Reuters reports October 3 that a newly-formed organization, "The International Committee of Conscience," made public a plan to provide relief to Biafra and Nigeria via helicopters working off an aircraft carrier. Members of the Committee include former Vice President Humphrey, Mrs. Martin Luther King, and Lt. General William H. Tunner, commander of the 1948 Berlin airlift. The U.S. branch of the Committee is "The Committee for Nigeria-Biafra Relief."

1

Ambassador Ferguson's staff originated the ship-helicopter discharge idea for Nigerian relief and explored it in detail at the beginning of Ambassador Ferguson's appointment. The Ambassador mentioned it to General Gowon and Colonel Ojukwu in March, as a possible modification of the Cross River proposal. The Ambassador's conclusion was that there are more efficient and feasible ways to transport relief if the FMG and Biafran leadership could agree to a formula for allowing relief transportation into the enclave, and that the use of helicopters and aircraft carriers does not meet the basic objections of the two sides that now seem to be blocking relief efforts. The experience of the ICRC negotiations on day-light relief flights bears out this conclusion: the helicopter proposal does not answer the insistence by the FMG that relief flights be subject to random call-down for inspection on FMG territory, nor Colonel Ojukwu's adamant refusal to accept relief supplies that have been inspected by, or are under control of, the FMG. Although the proposal might answer Ojukwu's objection to possible jeopardy of Uli airfield (since the helicopters would not have to use Uli), this objection is only tactical and subordinate to Ojukwu's real purpose--to keep relief flights as a cover for arms flights.

GROUP 3

Downgraded at 12 year intervals,
not automatically declassified.

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AF/NS: B. D. Barr
10-4-69

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

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In the latter part of July, representatives for the "Committee for Nigeria-Biafra Relief" brought up this same proposal to Ambassador Ferguson, but in a hazy and uncoordinated way that seemed more a notion than a plan. They suggested that the United States Government set about rounding up the helicopters, an aircraft carrier and crews, while the Committee sought agreement of the FMG and Biafran leadership. The Ambassador asked the representatives for detailed logistics proposals before we could make such a sizeable budgetary commitment. These proposals have not been received, nor have we any reason to believe that the leadership of both sides have been persuaded to accept the idea.

Proposals of this type risk complicating serious efforts that are still underway to reach agreement on a formula for daylight relief flights.

Clearances: AF/NS - Mr. Sherry *JS*
U/CF - Colonel Dewey (draft)

JS
AF/NS:BCBarr:dal Ext. 21185 10-4-69

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Authority	VND 950503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 29-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED: 227

PAGE 01 LUANDA 00435 061520Z

50
ACTION:UCF:05

INFO:OCT 01,AFI 12,SSO 00,NSCE 00,USIE 00,AID 28,CIAE 00,DODE 00,

JPM 04,HI 02,INR 07,LI 03,NSAE 00,NSC 10,P 03,RSC 01,PRS 01,SS 20

RSR 01,CCO 00,098 W

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061400Z OCT 69
FM AMCONSUL LUANDA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1097

UNCLAS LUANDA 435

FOR:UYCF

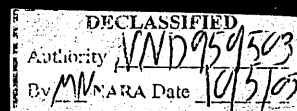
FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM SAO TOME

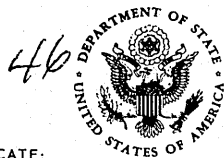
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OTHERWISE. SIGNED:DAWSON E THOMAS:UNQTE.
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LIMDIS

1. Appreciate offer to cover U/CF Sao Tome responsibilities.
2. For clarification Dawson/Thomas are assigned to U/CF logistics office headed by Dewey (an officer with extensive general logistics and aviation background seconded to State). Their Sao Tome duties include reporting in the specialized technical/management areas of organization, supply, maintenance, personnel and flight operations relating to the JCA relief airlift. In accordance with U/CF relief coordinating responsibilities on both sides of battle lines, Dawson, old timer at relief survey missions in Biafra, is accompanying Thomas into enclave to set him up to perform similar

DRAFTED BY: ADEWEY

U/CF: CCFerguson, Jr.

DRAFTING DATE
10/6/69

TEL. EXT.
29624

APPROVED BY:

U/CF: CCFerguson, Jr. *OCF*

CLEARANCES:

AF: DDNewsom *mu*

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4-68

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



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ACTION: AMCONSUL LUANDA

Page 2

functions. Dawson to return US after about 10 days.
Thomas to shuttle in and out of enclave with base at
continuing
Sao Tome. Because of/interface Luanda with Sao Tome
effort, U/CF would have welcomed opportunity to brief
Congen prior his departure for post; regret this did
not happen.

3. As can be recognized, presence of regularly accredited
political officers in rebel territory (Biafra) would raise
difficulties for USG in Lagos. Pursuant to ^{an} ~~our~~ understand-
ing based on communications at highest levels in Washington
and Lagos, U/CF personnel, including Amb. Ferguson, regular-
visit
ly ~~visit~~ Biafra for strictly limited humanitarian purposes.

4. Portion of U/CF mandate relating to present functions
Dawson/Thomas sent septel for FYI.

ROGERS

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 COTONO 00998 061754Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, UPW 01,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03,

RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, EUR 17, RSR 01, /150 W
019799

R 061600Z OCT 69
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2445
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

CONFIDENTIAL COTONOU 998

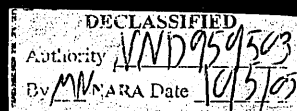
1. STURZENEGGER, ICRC CHIEF OPERATIONS OFFICER AT COTONOU, SAYS HE HAS BEEN ASSURED BY NAF LIAISON OFFICER CAPTAIN AMAKU THAT FMG WOULD NOT RPT NOT CALL DOWN FOR INSPECTION ANY DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS FROM COTONOU TO ULI. INSPECTION COTONOU WOULD SUFFICE. RETURN FLIGHTS MIGHT, NAF OFFICER SAID, BE CALLED DOWN AT LAGOS FROM TIME TO TIME. STURZENEGGER ADDED AMAKU HAS FAMILY INCLUDING WIFE AND CHILDREN IN BIAFRA AND IS THUS PERSONALLY INTERESTED IN FACILITATING RESUMPTION OF FLIGHTS.

WM AT PRESENT, STURZENEGGER SAID, HE IS IN PROCESS OF REDUCING HIS STAFF HERE BY 40 PERCENT WITH CONTINGENCY PLAN RECALL THEM IF FLIGHTS RESUMED. THIS POSING PROBLEMS FOR ICRC AS, ACCORDING STURZENEGGER, PRESIDENT ZINSOU HIMSELF MUST APPROVE BEFORE ANY INDIVIDUAL CAN BE RELEASED BY ICRC.

3. AS OF OCTOBER 6, ICRC HERE HAS NOT RECEIVED ORDERS FROM GENEVA TO REDUCE STOCKS BY MOVING THEM ELSEWHERE.
LOORAM

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0826





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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, SS 20, NSC 10, INR 07, LS 02, SSO 00,

NSCE 00, RSR 01, RSC 01, /089 W

019589

O R 061633Z OCT 69 ZFF-4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3218
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3589

LAGOS PLEASE PASS BIGNAMI ICRC

STATE FOR U/CF

FOLLOWING MESSAGE CONCERNS BIAFRA'S ACCEPTANCE OF ICRC VISIT.
(NIGHT FLIGHT)

QUOTE: DELEGATION CICR BIAFRA COMPRENDRA EN OUTRE HERZOG ET
QUITTERA GENEVE LUNDI 13.10.69 23.00. ARRIVERA COTONOU PAR
ABIDJAN RK10 MARDI 14.10.69 10.10. PROPOSONS RENCONTRE AVEC
VOUS COTONOU MARDI 14.

VOUS PRIONS DEMANDER AUTORISATION VOL 1 AVION TRANSALL C-160
HB-ILN COTONOU/ULI NUIT 14/15 OCT POUR TRANSPORT DELEGATION 5
PERSONNES AND TRANSPORT MEDICAMENTS. PROPOSONS MEME ROUTE
MEME TEMPS MEMES CONDITIONS QUE EMERGENCY FLIGHT 4/5 AOUT.
HEURE EXACTE IDENTITE ET NUMEROS PASSEPORTS EQUIPAGE AINSI
QUE CARGO MANIFEST PRECIS VOUS SERONT COMMUNIQUEES DES QUE
POSSIBLE. INSISTONS URGENCE REPONSE EN RAISON TEMPS NECESSAIRE
- 5 JOURS - POUR OBTENTION CODE POUR ATTERRISSAGE ULI.
ATTIRONS VOTRE ATTENTION QUE ABSOLUMENT IMPOSSIBLE DEMANDER

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GENEVA-3589
10-6-69

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 03589 061720Z

CODES BIAFRA AVANT AVOIR RECU FEU VERT DE LAGOS.

IDEM AUTHORISATION VOL RETOUR RUEGGER SEUL OU ACCOMPAGNE
FIXE NUIT 20/21 OCTOBER. SIGNED BASSET. UNQUOTE.
BASSIN

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DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy COPENHAGEN PRIORITY
INFO: Amconsul FRANKFURT
US Mission GENEVA

STATE

REF: Geneva 3559

At U/CF request, FAA Washington making arrangements for European FAA rep to meet with Wichmann. Purpose to consult on cause C-97 crash of Sept 26. Embassy may be asked to provide meeting place and officer to participate with FAA rep at meeting. Frankfurt FAA office will make direct contact.

END

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: U/CF: AEDewey:ls DRAFTING DATE: 10/4/69 TEL. EXT.: 29476 APPROVED BY: U/CF - AEDewey

CLEARANCES: AF/SN - Mr. Sherry (by phone)

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ACTION: Amembassy DAR-ES-SALAAM

INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
Amembassy BELGRADE
Amembassy LAGOS
Amembassy MOSCOW
Amembassy OTTAWA
Amembassy PARIS

SUBJ: Tanzanians & Nigeria

STATE

1. During New York stopover following Canadian visit President Nyerere, Asst Secy Newsom had opportunity conversation with Tanzania FonMin Mhando. Following points emerged:

2. During visit Canadians expressed strongly to Nyerere dis-
appointment at Biafran attitude on daylight relief flights.
As result Nyerere making strong pitch to Biafrans to reexamine position in light obvious adverse reaction in Western countries to refusal relief arrangements (Nyerere saw New York Biafran representative Otue during stopover and presumably made such approach).

DRAFTED BY:

AF/DDNewsom smf

DRAFTING DATE

10/3/69

TEL. EXT.

22530

APPROVED

AF David D. Newsom

CLEARANCES:

EUR - Mr. Swank

U/CF - Mr. Dewey

EUR/EE - Mr. Lis

XXXX

EUR/SOV - Mr. Anderson

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Pol 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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PAGE 01 LUANDA 00432 040845Z

18
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, /071 W

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R 031600Z OCT 69
FM AMCONSUL LUANDA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1094
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

CONFIDENTIAL LUANDA 432

LIMDIS

FOR NEWSOM FROM POST

1. DURING MY BRIEFINGS IN DEPT, IT WAS INDICATED TO ME THAT SAO TOME AREA OF LUANDA CONSULAR DISTRICT LIKELY DEMAND GREATER CONGEN ATTENTION IN VIEW INCREASING BIAFRA RELIEF OPERATIONS STAGED THROUGH SAO TOME. ON ARRIVAL HERE, I FOUND CONGEN HAD SOUGHT GUIDANCE THIS SUBJECT FROM DEPT BUT HAD RECEIVED LITTLE BEYOND DISCLAIMERS OF USG INVOLVEMENT IN RELIEF OPERATIONS AND INFORMAL INDICATIONS CONGEN VISITS SHOULD BE LOW KEY TO AVOID POSSIBLE UNWELCOME PUBLICITY.

2. I WAS THEREFORE MILDLY SURPRISED TO LEARN INFORMALLY, AND VIRTUALLY BY CHANCE, OF PROPOSED VISIT BY GEORGE THOMAS (U/CF) TO SAO TOME. UPON SEEKING CLARIFICATION, I FIND (REFTEL) THOMAS TO SURVEY JCA OPERATIONS SAO TOME FOR SIX WEEKS AND THAT FSD DAWSON BEING SENT APPARENTLY FROM WASHINGTON TO INTRODUCE THOMAS TO JCA OFFICIALS.

3. CONGEN HAS ESTABLISHED CONTACTS WITH JCA OFFICIALS, HAS DEMONSTRATED COMPETENCE IN REPORTING DEVELOPMENTS IN SAO TOME (E.G., LUANDA 78, 83 AND A-36). CONGEN OFFICERS FURTHERMORE DULY ACCREDITED TO GO, SPEAK PORTUGUESE, AND EQUIPPED PERFORM NOT RPT NOT ONLY REPORTORIAL BUT ALSO CONSULAR SERVICES (NEED FOR WHICH HIGHLIGHTED BY RECENT DEATHS AMCITS IN BIAFRA CRASH).

4. UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES, AND PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OPRED ECONOMY DRIVE (UNDER WHICH LUANDA SCHEDULED LOSE ONE OFFICER), RATHER THAN HAVE DEPT SEND TWO ADDITIONAL OFFICERS TO THIS CONSULAR

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PAGE 02 LUANDA 00432 040845Z

DISTRICT IT WOULD SEEM MORE ECONOMICAL, LESS LIKELY GENERATE
UNDUE PUBLICITY AND POSSIBLY MORE PRODUCTIVE, FOR U/CF REQUIRE-
MENTS TO BE MET BY CONGEN LUANDA. IS NATURE PROPOSED SURVEY OR
ARE QUALIFICATIONS THOMAS AND DAWSON SUCH THAT CONGEN STAFF
WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE COMPETENT CARRY OUT THEIR MISSIONS?

GP-3.

POST

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EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

ACDA 5

AID 12

Functional

Principals and "S" Area

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